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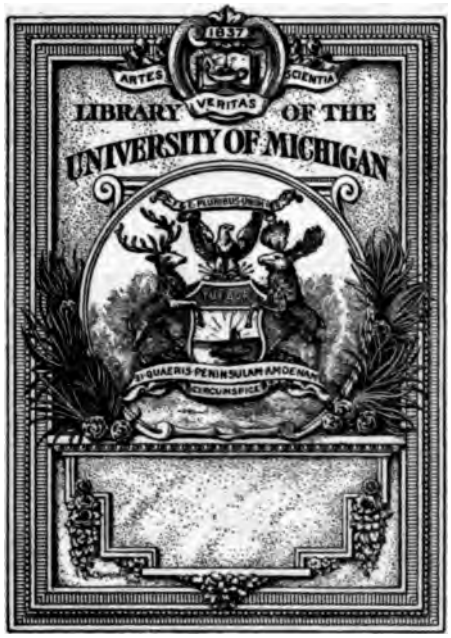
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THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

The Napoleonic Empire

In Southern Italy

and the

Rise of the Secret Societies

BY

R. M. JOHNSTON

AUTHOR OF 'THE ROMAN THEOCRACY AND THE REPUBLIC, 1846-1849'
'NAPOLEON: A SHORT BIOGRAPHY'

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CONTENTS

PART II

THE RISE OF THE SECRET SOCIETIES

CHAPTER I

The Restoration

PAGE

Bourbon restoration—Austro-Sicilian alliance—Convention of Casa Lanza—Ferdinand's proclamations—He arrives at Naples—Moderate conduct—Ferdinand's marriage—New conditions—Liberalism and Napoleon—Naples and France—Lazzaroni and middle class—Napoleonic system in Naples—Constitutional legislation—Zurlo—Nationalization—Results of French rule—Constitutionalism—The allies—Congress of Vienna—Austro-Neapolitan secret treaty—Holy Alliance—Bourbon accessions—Secret societies . 3

CHAPTER II

Origin and Rites of the Carbonari

Secret associations in history—Religious societies—Influence in political movements—Political thought and symbolism—Antiquity of symbolism—Its varying forms—Reproduction worship—Philosophical symbolism—Political symbolism—Soladitates, early Christians, Eleusinian mysteries—Mafia—Vendicosi, Beati Paoli—Templars—Reformation, Albigenses, Cathari, Paulicians, Patarini, Waldenses—Maestri Perfetti—Jacques Bonhomme—Cathari in Naples—Adombrados—Rosicrucians—Alchemysts, Rosenkreutz, Dürer—Doctrine of political equality—Doctrines of Luther and Rousseau—Trade guilds—Conciarotti, Neapolitan fraternities, Vehmgericht—Compagnonage, Chauffeurs, Charbonnerie—Masonic legends—Ancient guilds of Masons—Florentine Lodge of the Trowel—Masonry at

136547

PAGE

Naples — French Masonry — Amis réunis—Illuminés — Charbonnerie—Marquis de Champagne—Philadelphes—Other army associations—Republicanism during the Empire — Lecchi — Societies at Naples — Origin of Carbonari—Lodge at Capua — Murat and the secret societies—Hereditary Prince joins Carbonari—Polypus of societies—Doctrines of Carbonari—Initiation of apprentices—Discourse of orator—St. Theobald—Symbols interpreted — Passwords and signs — Statutes of Repubblica Lucana — Assassination—Initiation of master—Origin of ceremony—Conclusion—Political cowardice 19

CHAPTER III

Internal Affairs

Papal action against Carbonari — Zuccari's arrest — Maghella's — Carbonaro intrigue—Increase in membership—Sanfedism—Calderari—Canosa—Arms the Calderari — Policy of Government—Carbonari decorated — Position of Muratists—Bentinck at Naples—French at Naples—Medici—Other Ministers — Finance—Amnesty — Confiscations—Austrian policy — Jablonowsky—Nugent and Neapolitan army—Sicilian constitution—Ferdinand I. of Two Sicilies—Marriage of Duchesse de Berri—U.S. claims reparation—Disorders in Puglia—Secret societies—Relations with the Papacy—Concordat—Factions at Court—The *fedeloni*—Reconstruction of the San Carlo —Ferdinand cuts his queue—Death of Charles IV.—State of the kingdom 45

CHAPTER IV

The Revolution of 1820

Failure of harvests—Taxation—Landed proprietors and Constitutionalism—Army dissatisfaction—Visit of Francis and Metternich—Pepe's plot—Camp of Sessa—Metternich's apprehensions—Congress of Aix—Secret societies — Kotzebue's murder—Russian policy — Spanish revolution — Spain and Naples—Position of the Carbonari—Pepe at Avellino—Propaganda at Salerno — Minichini—Carbonaro numbers — Ferdinand takes oath to Spanish Constitution—Consequent agitation—Plot of De Conciliis—Borbone Cavalleria—Rising at Nola—Insurgents reach Monteforte—News at Naples—Carascosa takes command—His proceedings—De Conciliis takes lead at Avellino — Carascosa negotiates — Nunziante's efforts — Advises Constitution—Desertion—Pepe leaves Naples—Carbonaro deputation to Ferdinand—Constitution granted—New ministry—Carbonaro proclamation — Demand for Spanish Constitution — Granted—Alarm at Naples—Entry of Carbonari—Pepe sees Ferdinand—Orderly behaviour of Carbonari—Pepe commander-in-chief — His position — Minichini — Real

PAGE

causes of revolution—Zurlo and the Ministry—Carbonaro hostility—Great extension of Carbonari—Ferdinand swears constitution—Lazzaroni hold aloof—Ferdinand's policy—Plot against King—Freedom of the Press—Rossetti—Attacks on Zurlo—Troja and the Minerva—Borrelli maintains order—Mutiny of Farnese regiment—*Guardia di sicurezza*—Elections and their results—Inauguration of Parliament—Constitutional amendment promised 69

CHAPTER V

The Fall of the Carbonari

Vendita della Pace—Carbonaro demands—Disorder—Parties in Parliament—Analogy with Convention—Carbonari dominate Assembly—Parliamentary eloquence—Borrelli and Poerio—Legislative trivialities—Ferdinand's alarm—Pepe's position—Carascosa—Plot to take Palace—British assistance—Ships arrive—Campochiaro asks for their withdrawal—Metternich's views—Unrest at Milan—Cariati's mission to Vienna—Czar declares for intervention—Metternich's note to German states—Austrian armaments—Campochiaro demands explanation—Metternich declines to receive Gallo—Ferdinand denounces his compulsion—Congress of Troppau—Alarm of liberals—Russian policy—Intervention and political theories—Ferdinand invited to Laybach—Position of Great Britain—Of France—Her mediation attempted—Laybach proposal before Parliament—Answer—Permission obtained for journey—Ferdinand embarks—Parting letter to Calabria—Resignation of Ministry—Zurlo—New Ministry—Church in Sicily—F. Pepe's expedition—Bad state of army—Pepe and Carascosa—Finances—Feeling at New Year—The Duke of Calabria—Constitution finished—Parliament adjourned—Ferdinand at Laybach—Decisions of Congress—Received at Naples—Communicated to Parliament—Excitement—Assassination of Giampietro—Rossetti—Reaction—Duke of Calabria's position—Military measures—Guards reviewed—Pepe in the Abruzzi—His forces—Austrian advance—Fight at Rieti—Carascosa's army disbands—Last sittings of Parliament—Capua surrendered—Fate of Silvati and Morelli—Escape of leaders—Revolution in Piedmont—Entry of Austrians into Naples. 103

APPENDIX A

The Miracle of San Gennaro 141

APPENDIX B

Table of Measures and Moneys 143

APPENDIX C

PAGE

I. House of Bourbon; II. House of Bonaparte; III. The Hapsburg, Bonaparte, Bourbon Alliances . . . 144

APPENDIX D

Mary Caroline's Memoirs. 146

APPENDIX E

Castlereagh's Falsified Dispatches 146

APPENDIX F

Ferdinand's Proclamation, 1st of May 1815 . . . 150

APPENDIX G

Treaty of the Holy Alliance 152

APPENDIX H

Carbonaro Discourse 153

APPENDIX I

Ferdinand's Invitation to Laybach 155

APPENDIX K

Bibliography for the Political History of the Kingdom of Naples, 1805-1821 157

INDEX 223

MAP

EUROPE AFTER THE FALL OF NAPOLEON . . *To face page* 1

CHAPTER I

THE RESTORATION

Bourbon restoration—Austro-Sicilian alliance—Convention of Casa Lanza—Ferdinand's proclamations—He arrives at Naples—Moderate conduct—Ferdinand's marriage—New conditions—Liberalism and Napoleon—Naples and France—Lazzaroni and middle class—Napoleonic system in Naples—Constitutional legislation—Zurlo—Nationalization—Results of French rule—Constitutionalism—The allies—Congress of Vienna—Austro-Neapolitan secret treaty—Holy Alliance—Bourbon accessions—Secret societies.

THE Bourbon restoration of 1815 took place under circumstances very different from that of 1799. The sudden disappearance of Napoleon from the scene disclosed two great powers in European politics: public opinion on the one hand; on the other the settled policy of a school of statesmen whose doctrines were those of benevolent autocracy. It was under the restraining influence of these two forces that Ferdinand returned to Naples.

The weightiest external pressure on the Sicilian Court was that of Austria as represented by Prince Metternich. During the sessions of the Congress of Vienna, Ferdinand's agents, Ruffo and Serracapriola, constantly urged his claims on the representatives of

the Powers. Metternich's influence alone had long prevented their success. But on the rupture of relations between Austria and Naples, a month before the battle of Tolentino, the Austrian Minister had completely changed his attitude and adopted a position that could not but satisfy Ferdinand. The Austrian campaign against Naples was frankly declared to be one of annihilation and annexation, exactly as that of Napoleon had been in 1806. From the day on which diplomatic relations were broken off the kingly title was dropped, and the occupant of the throne of Naples became known to Austrian statesmen as Marshal Murat once more. Metternich at once turned to Ruffo and to Prince Leopold of Sicily, then present in Naples, and offered them a treaty of alliance, which was quickly agreed; it was signed on the 20th of April. This treaty provided for the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty to the throne, and by its terms 30,000 Sicilian troops were to be employed in the enterprise, and all expenses borne by the re-established Government. But what was of even greater interest in this treaty was that it contained stipulations that went beyond the military necessities of the case, and clearly revealed the spirit of the new era just dawning on Europe.

The Austrian Government expressly required that on the reinstatement of Ferdinand there should be no political persecution, that all sales of State property made by the late Government should be confirmed, that the obligations of the public debt and all pensions should be met, and that all titles of honour conferred by Joseph and Joachim should be recognised. The terms of this treaty were practically embodied by Bianchi and Neipperg in the military convention

which they signed with Carascosa and Colletta on the 20th of May. The additional articles of that convention provided, among other things: that there should be a political amnesty, that all sales of public property were to hold good, that the public debt should be met, and that all native-born soldiers willing to swear allegiance to Ferdinand were to retain their rank, honours, and pensions.

These guarantees to the Neapolitan nation were confirmed, repeated, and amplified by Ferdinand from Palermo. No sooner was it known that the outbreak of hostilities between Naples and Austria once more gave hope of driving the intruding king from the throne, than proclamations were hurriedly issued announcing to the credulous Ferdinand's unalterable benevolence of heart, to the wise his feverish anxiety to reascend his throne. "I promise, in the most solemn manner, and on my sacred word," he declared, "a most complete, most extensive, and most general amnesty, and eternal forgiveness. . . ." Such assurances, and others covering the clauses of the Austrian treaty, were repeated at various dates through May; towards the end of the month, when Murat's fall was clearly approaching, Ferdinand made preparations for returning to Naples.[1]

On the last day of the month Ferdinand set sail. At sea his ship passed the *Tremendous* conveying

[1] There seems no real ground for believing that one of these proclamations specifically promised a constitution. The origin of the statement, copied by so many modern writers, including Cantù, is to be found in Pepe's pamphlet published after his banishment in 1821; that is, six years after the event. No writer before Pepe refers to it; the Austrian and British representatives and statesmen were apparently unaware of it; there is no trace of it to be found in the *Bulletino delle leggi*. Sclopis pronounces Pepe's statement an invention; but Pepe was in reality only placing in print what he had heard Borrelli proclaim in the Carbonaro Parliament in his speech of the 8th of December 1820; see Appendix F.

Caroline Murat to Trieste, and was greeted with a salute. On the 6th of June he arrived at Portici, and was once more in sight of his beloved Naples.

The firmness of Caroline, the efforts of the police and civic guards, the rapid march of Neipperg's cavalry, had fortunately prevented disorder in the capital. Prince Leopold had shown affability and tact. When speaking of Caroline Murat he did not omit her title of Queen, and he treated the generals of the Neapolitan army with the utmost courtesy. Ferdinand followed a similar line of conduct. On the 9th of June he made his State entry into the capital, a somewhat tame and uninspiring ceremony after the displays of the preceding reign; and by his reception of the generals, civil administrators and nobles, who had but lately gathered round the throne of Joachim, he instantly set at rest the last surviving fear that the Bourbon restoration would be marked by reaction, excess, and reprisals.

To many this moderation appeared due to the absence from Ferdinand's side of Queen Mary Caroline. That Princess was now dead, how greatly to the relief of the people of Naples it is impossible to describe, how greatly to that of Ferdinand himself appeared clearly enough from the fact that he allowed less than two months to elapse before filling Mary Caroline's vacant place. He married, morganatically, the Princess Partanna, better known as the Duchess of Floridia, a handsome, pleasure-loving woman, with no inclination for politics.

To those who were able to view facts with a closer perception than the majority, it was evident that what was now happening in Naples was in part the result of a profound change that had taken place in Europe.

While the eye of observers had been fascinated with the movements of mighty hosts of armed men, the national elements which the action of those hosts were fusing had escaped observation. The tremendous national feeling of democratic patriotism which the Revolution had evoked in France, was now loudly re-echoing in central and southern Europe. France for the moment was crushed, her neighbours were triumphant, and triumphant largely by means of national armies. Nationalism and patriotism were necessarily coincident with the individual citizen's sentiment of forming an essential part of the community, of having consequently essential rights in the adjustment of the affairs of that community. "The reaction of 1813," wrote that very acute observer Gentz, "which has suspended but not terminated the revolutionary movement in France, has aroused it in the other States."

Only the surprising rapidity of Napoleon's fall and the utter exhaustion of France had made possible the return of the Bourbons. No sooner were they back than the liberalism which Napoleon had bribed, cajoled, and disciplined into imperialism reasserted itself; for his return to the throne in 1815 was partly a military mutiny, partly a liberal revolution, and his acts showed that he thus understood it. The French nation was beginning to manifest signs of having learned political wisdom, and the Hundred Days had revealed the existence of a party, small but influential and well defined, of moderate and progressive constitutionalists.

Naples had, after a fashion, followed in the footsteps of France. But she was far less advanced in political development, and the Neapolitan copies of the French

institutions were essentially alien. The soil was not prepared and not suitable for the institutions that the French Republic planted in Italy in 1799. The Parthenopean Republic was the faint, far-off echo of the formidable national upheaval of France. The revolt was the work of the best part of the intelligence of the State centred in a group of professional and educated men, whose advancement was perpetually barred by the decrees of a caste government. With the true Italian facility for assimilation and imitation, they absorbed the doctrines of the marvellous Republic, *une et indivisible*, that had flashed such streams of hope into the hearts of the unfortunate and oppressed humanity of Europe.

But at Naples republican propaganda had followed precisely the reverse course to that which it had pursued in France. There the middle-class Jacobins had for a time directed a movement of which the real momentum proceeded from below them. At Naples the lower class, or the people, did not participate in, and in fact largely helped to crush the Republic. The Neapolitan peasantry represented the same political factor that the peasantry of the western provinces did in France. Nationalism was unknown to them, the Church held their undivided devotion, and occasionally even their Baron associated his interests, avocations, prejudices, and fears with theirs, and thus became their natural leader. The lazzaroni resembled the provincial masses in their lack of national feeling and in their susceptibility to priest guidance. Their only constant political sentiment was one of inveterate enmity to the middle class of Naples, to the owners of money close at their elbow. Whatever line of policy the middle class of Naples might follow it could be inferred with reason-

able certainty that the lazzaroni would take an opposite view. To play off the one class against the other was traditionally the Bourbon policy, and as the middle professional class and some part of the aristocracy of the city of Naples was necessarily in favour of enlightenment and progress, it followed that the king and the lazzaroni made common cause against such things.

Later, when Ferdinand was driven from his kingdom, and his sceptre fell into the keeping of a Bonaparte, Naples tasted once more of the fruits of French political evolution. As in France, so in Naples, the system of civil administration framed by Napoleon was applied by the high ruling power of the State. But it was impossible that the conditions of Naples could immediately be unified with those of France. The country was far less politically advanced, it was for some time in a state of war, the commanding energy of Napoleon was not so immediately near its object. Following the centralizing or imperial bent of his mind, Napoleon could admit of no variation from the universal system that was to brigade states and kingdoms together just as the conscription law brigaded the rich man with the poor, the Catholic with the Atheist and the Jew. In Naples the civil, and commercial, and criminal codes of the new Justinian must be the law. In Naples military, judicial, administrative hierarchies must spread their ramifications from the exalted functionaries supporting the throne down to every hamlet of the kingdom, seizing every and each individual in their machinery, watching his every action, appropriating his service to the State, showing him, however lowly born, a long vista of promotions, of rewards, of honours, if his capacities were equal to serving the State and his

own interests. Something of the process whereby the institutions of Naples were revolutionized under Joseph and Joachim has been related in former chapters, and need not be returned to here; but some of the broader aspects deserve closer examination.

The Napoleonic codes of law, though of French origin, were less alien to the people of southern Italy than the Napoleonic system of administration. For not only were the codes based on the Roman law and, in that sense, Italian in spirit, but they cleared away a judicial chaos that had grown nearly past all use. But in the field of administration the partial attempt made to carry out the provisions of the Bayonne constitutional statute in 1809 and 1810 had for a moment suggested the possibility of the construction of a political fabric less in accord with French than with Italian traditions.

The system of administration introduced had taken as its lowest or primary unit the Università. But the little walled villages and towns, governed by their syndic and *decurionato*, were the direct inheritors of the traditions that had been factors in the creation of the mediæval republics and that drew their origin from the Latin *municipium*. An administrative system working downwards, and making of the syndics with their subordinates the lowest rungs of the ladder of the bureaucratic hierarchy, would tend towards the centralization that was Napoleon's chief end of government.[1] But if, taking the Università, perhaps the strongest

[1] A discussion of the defects of the centralizing system appears unnecessary here. The American or English reader hardly requires much persuasion on this point. It would be in any case a somewhat ungrateful task to follow Taine on ground he has so thoroughly explored. His paradoxical conclusion may be recalled that all that centralization had accomplished for France has been to improve the dramatic, conversational, and culinary arts! (Taine, *Voyage en Italie*, i. 101).

and most living of all Neapolitan political organisms, as a starting-point, Italian intellects had had the opportunity to build upwards, what a different result might have been attained. From the Università to the district, from the district to the province, from the province to the State, from the State to the Italian confederation,—there was an ideal directly in touch with tradition, directly in touch with the best spirit of Italian politics. And it is precisely that spirit that may be traced in the work of that small group of able Neapolitan jurists and administrators who supported Joachim, in such men as Zurlo and Ricciardi, Dragonetti and Winspeare. The legislation of 1809 and 1810, although strictly in accordance with the terms of the constitutional statute of Bayonne, appears to have been an attempt on their part to add to the Università a higher provincial organization capable of being developed by men used to the practical autonomy of the Università into a body for local self-government. That represented wise and constructive legislation on an Italian and not on a French basis.

How the public apathy and the political timidity of the provinces defeated the liberal tendencies of the government has already been related. Yet some measure of interest in public affairs had been created: the manner in which that interest, acted on by the timidity just alluded to, found expression, will appear presently.

The tendencies just discussed were not, however, those that appeared on the surface of things. The chief outward result of the French rule at Naples was undoubtedly the formation of what might be described as the appearances of nationalism. The great factor in this transformation had been military. The constant

wars and the raising of a large army had opened up the country. Men had moved from one province to another, had fought under the same flag, had found comrades in men of other districts. The Abruzzeze and the Calabrese, the Pugliese and the Napoletano, had marched through France and Spain, through Germany and Austria, side by side, companions at the bivouac and on the battlefield. In May 1815 Desvernois had over 23,000 civic guards of Calabria in camp together at one time; and the 100,000 men that made up the total of the Neapolitan armed forces in that year were a truly national army. They represented 1 in 50 of the population. In the army, as in other branches of the service of the State, promotion had been opened freely to all, and many men of the middle and some of the lower class had risen high.

On the results of the French rule at Naples three soldiers, one a Dutchman, the other two Neapolitans, expressed the following opinions. De Dedem, who was personally hostile to Murat, declared that he was the first King of Naples who had tried to improve the kingdom. Colletta was of opinion that religious sentiment and morality had been weakened under the French rule, and that the feeling towards royalty had changed; there was no longer so much loyalty, but fear and calculation of interest. Pepe declared: "We had made more progress on this side of the Strait within the space of ten years, than our ancestors had done in three centuries."[1]

If this was the case in that remote, most unenlightened corner of the Continent, how much more progress had been accomplished by the people of more advanced countries! So true was the saying of Gentz

[1] Pepe, *Mem.* ii. 115.

just quoted, so general the movement towards liberal methods of government, that those who attacked the French Empire had constantly appealed to national sentiments; and Napoleon's defeat in Spain exactly coincided with the formation of a constitutional government. No sooner had the Empire fallen than a strong liberal movement developed in Germany. Prussia was agitated by the demand for popular representation; in Baden, Wurtemberg, and Bavaria constitutions were established in the course of a few years.

The popular and national movement was one great factor in Europe, but alongside of it was another. The anti-Napoleonic wars had concentrated in the hands of a group of sovereigns and statesmen vast military armaments, the prestige of victory, and the strong support of the mercantile, productive, and wealthy classes of the Continent. These monarchs and statesmen had been taught at the school of adversity. For many years they had suffered humiliation and defeat, and they had recognised in some of the agencies turned against them by Napoleon new political forces that might be employed without danger to their throne. From the standpoint of 1780 their views were progressive, from that of 1815 they were retrograde. Theirs was the power and theirs was the divine right, yet they were prepared to admit that the interests of the people were a matter for proper consideration; they saw that the prosperity of a country made the strength of its government. They recognized the utility of employing the best intellects in their service, and that equality before the law was a necessary concession. But from such a point of view to that of the constitutional and nationalist parties in France, Germany, and Italy there was a wide gulf.

The monarchical conception of territorial division was still a purely proprietary one, as was shown in the deliberations and decisions of the Congress of Vienna. There was no attempt made to disguise the fact that spoliation was considered the legitimate reward of victory, and spoliation nearly invariably took the form of parcelling out to the victors territory of which the size was computed by the number of souls. Thus Joachim had stipulated for an increase of 400,000 souls in return for his co-operation in 1814. This system of politics aroused the bitter denunciations of the small liberal group that already represented the growing conscience of Europe.[1]

Of all the statesmen assembled at the Congress the foremost in ability was Prince Metternich, and he showed from the first a decided intention of opposing the constitutional movement. Even before Waterloo had sealed the fate of the Empire he had entered into a secret compact with Ferdinand binding him not to concede liberal reforms. The clause was as follows:—

As the engagements entered into by the present treaty by their Majesties to insure the internal peace of Italy impose on them the duty of preserving their respective states and subjects from new reactions and from the danger of imprudent innovations that might renew them, it is understood between the high contracting parties that H.M. the King of the Two

[1] As, for instance, by Béranger:

Des potentats, dans vos cités en flammes,
Osent du bout de leur sceptre insolent
Marquer, compter et recompter les âmes
Que leur adjuge un triomphe sanglant.
Faible troupeaux, vous passez sans défense,
D'un joug pesant sous un joug inhumain.
Peuples, formez une sainte alliance
Et donnez vous la main.

Sicilies, in re-establishing the government of his kingdom, will admit no change that could not be brought into line either with the ancient monarchical institutions or with the principles adopted by H. Imp. and Apost. M. for the internal administration of his Italian provinces.

But the most remarkable manifestation of the policy that was to dominate the affairs of the Continent for the following third of a century was that most extraordinary of the diplomatic documents of modern European history, the treaty of the Holy Alliance. This famous treaty was signed on the 26th of September 1815.

As the keen eye of the trained observer may detect on an ancient parchment the faint trace or faded colour of an earlier writing concealed under a newer and more obvious imprint, so beneath the mystical and religious phraseology in which the Holy Alliance was ratified the student of history may trace many curiously faded and distorted characters of a more remote age. The influence of Jean Jacques Rousseau, of Freemasonry, of the Martinists, and of German Illuminism, may all be easily detected, and so curious and suggestive was its language that Swedenborgian enthusiasts even managed to read into it a renunciation of the Athanasian Creed! The monarchs inscribed in it their reasoned version of the humanitarian pæans that had resounded at the eventful birth of the French Republic. The phraseology was a little changed, the sincerity was of a somewhat less combustible quality, the presiding goddess was no longer Liberty but Madame de Krüdener. It was diplomacy's day of youthful romance.

That the Czar Alexander, following the advice of his mystical politico-religious guide Madame de Krüdener, believed implicitly in every sentiment of benevolence,

religion, and duty enounced in the treaty is probable; that Metternich clearly grasped its utility for his political purposes is certain. From the point of view of that statesman it was probably not very material that the alliance was expressed to be made in the name of the "very holy and indivisible Trinity"; that the mutual policy of the signatory princes was declared to be based "on the sublime truths taught by the eternal religion of God our Saviour"; that, "conformably to the words of Holy Scripture, whereby all men are ordered to be brothers, the three signing monarchs shall be tied in the bonds of true and indissoluble fraternity"; that in these monarchs were concentrated "all the treasures of love, of knowledge, and of infinite Wisdom, that is of God, our divine Saviour Jesus Christ, the Almighty Word, the Word of Life;"—the declaration of the rights of man had been supplanted by the declaration of the rights of kings. These utterances might be of deep import to the Czar Alexander, to the Emperor Francis, to King Frederick William, and to Madame de Krüdener; also to some part of the general public, especially among the mystics of Germany. But to Metternich what was of greater importance was the practical line of policy embodied in the treaty, and that was not difficult to recognise. The monarchs bound themselves to afford one another "assistance, help, and succour"; declared that their power was of divine origin, and their wisdom that of the Deity. These provisions were nothing less than a charter of European police for the benefit of the established sovereignties of Europe. The adhesion of the other Powers was invited to this treaty, and it is matter for reflection that only Great Britain, the Pope, and the Sultan could find reasons, though not identical, for withholding their concurrence.

Among the earliest accessions to the treaty of the Holy Alliance were those of the Bourbon sovereigns, and thus Naples was soon tied by a double treaty to a system of political immobility. The national and liberal movement evoked by the destruction of the feudal organism, and its replacing by a modern conception of State entity, had provoked political thought, had raised a tide of political hope and ambition. But the monarchs of Europe had leagued together to deny popular rights, to aid one another in suppressing them. So at Naples, as elsewhere, the people, weary with the long effort of the cycle of wars brought in by the French Revolution, unprovided with leaders, unaccustomed to guide themselves, fell for the moment into the quiet path of rest and submission.

It was, however, to be but for a moment. Under the surface a stream of ideas circulated. Within the large circle of the secret societies the germ of revolution was swelling. The British Ambassador wrote to his Court immediately after the execution of Joachim Murat: "An immense number of secret societies, known by the denomination of Carbonari, exist all over the kingdom . . . and may at any time be made the instruments of revolution."[1] The Carbonari have been more than once mentioned in these pages; an examination of their antecedents and constitution can no longer be deferred.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES CONSULTED

MSS.

SOC. PATRIA, *D' Ambrosio MS.*; see vol. i. p. 349.
BRIT. FOREIGN OFF., *Sicily*, 70; à Court's dispatches.

[1] à Court to Castlereagh, Nov. 9, 1815, *For. Off. Sicily*, 70.

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CHAPTER II

ORIGIN AND RITES OF THE CARBONARI

Secret associations in history—Religious societies—Influence in political movements—Political thought and symbolism—Antiquity of symbolism—Its varying forms—Reproduction worship—Philosophical symbolism—Political symbolism—Soladitates, early Christians, Eleusinian mysteries—Mafia—Vendicosi, Beati Paoli—Templars—Reformation, Albigenses, Cathari, Paulicians, Patarini, Waldenses—Maestri Perfetti—Jacques Bonhomme—Cathari in Naples—Adombrados—Rosicrucians—Alchemysts, Rosenkreutz, Dürer—Doctrine of political equality—Doctrines of Luther and Rousseau—Trade guilds—Conciarotti, Neapolitan fraternities, Vehmgericht—Compagnonage, Chauffeurs, Charbonnerie—Masonic legends—Ancient guilds of Masons—Florentine Lodge of the Trowel—Masonry at Naples—French Masonry—Amis réunis—Illuminés—Charbonnerie—Marquis de Champagne—Philadelphes—Other army associations—Republicanism during the Empire—Lecchi—Societies at Naples—Origin of Carbonari—Lodge at Capua—Murat and the secret societies—Hereditary Prince joins Carbonari—Polypus of societies—Doctrines of Carbonari—Initiation of apprentices—Discourse of orator—St. Theobald—Symbols interpreted—Passwords and signs—Statutes of Republica Lucana—Assassination—Initiation of master—Origin of ceremony—Conclusion—Political cowardice.

As a rule, movements against an irksome tyranny of government, whether embracing few or many individuals, have of necessity taken the form of an association, and aimed at a greater or less degree of secrecy.

Secret associations are therefore more frequently met with in those ages in which tyrannical forms of government predominate. Nearly all successful political conspiracies recorded in history may in a way be said to have been the work of secret associations, and generally of associations formed for a particular purpose, and dissolved on its accomplishment. But alongside of these ephemeral associations have been others, some having chiefly a religious or mystical purpose, others closely connected with the application of the principle of mutual help. The origin of the latter class may be said to be as ancient as that of the former, for both are of immemorial antiquity.

From this very antiquity of many secret societies has arisen a somewhat inaccurate view as to the continuity of their specific aims and actions. More than one writer has represented the Freemasons, the Illuminati, or the Carbonari, as long-applied forces that have helped to produce certain political movements by a persistent pursuit of their secret doctrines. The truth is, however, that these societies were never more than the convenient vehicle of a movement, not to be mistaken for the movement itself; and if the outward form of the society remained unchanged for long periods it did not follow that the political thought that sheltered behind it had not in the same space of time gone through far-reaching modifications.

To understand the political thought that was concealed behind the mystic rites of the Carbonari, it is idle to explore their traditional mediæval origin, for the political facts of the period at which they flourished will be a perfectly sufficient guide to the opinions of their society. On the other hand, to understand the forms, the symbolism, and the mysticism that enveloped

their political thought, it will be necessary to glance back for a period of some centuries at the long chain of the secret associations, at the long train of speculation that links modern Italy with the earliest Mediterranean and central European civilization.

When considering the national characteristics of the Neapolitan people in the first chapter of this work stress was laid on the remote antiquity of many traditional modes of thought among them. In considering the external forms taken by the Society of the Carbonari the connection of the traditions of modern Naples with those of ancient days must be similarly emphasized.

The ever-present curiosity of man to fathom the unknown agencies that surround him has immemorially been fed by the presentation to him of more or less plausible or arbitrary explanations of the mysteries of nature. Such explanations when widely accepted, or mercilessly enforced, might attain to the dignity of a religious system, and by long-continued tradition and the custom of ages become a considerable factor in the affairs of the world.

The greatest of the natural mysteries is perhaps that of the reproduction of species ; it is also one of the most obvious and the most interesting to man in his least civilized state. This mystery was among those that received the earliest attentions of speculative intellect, and the primitive religious systems of India and of the Mediterranean played on the curious ignorance of their devotees by furnishing them with ceremonies, festivals, and symbols expressive of the miracle of generation and the continuity of the race. Symbolism was the only thinkable means whereby what was admittedly a mystery could be represented for purposes of worship.

The most remarkable, most generally found, and most direct example of this symbolic interpretation of the unknown agencies was that which called man's reverence to the eternal fecundity of nature. It will serve to show the persistence of symbolism if the fact be noted that though phallic symbols are among the earliest we have any knowledge of, yet they survive to the present day. In an earlier chapter it was mentioned that the Neapolitan women until recent times were accustomed to wear about their necks, when expecting childbirth, small bags containing so-called relics of St. Come, —in reality, small Priapi. Another instance may be found in many of the lamps lighting an image of the Virgin placed at the head of beds in Italy to the present day; whether by coincidence or survival, these lamps may occasionally be seen taking the old familiar columnar form, and doubtless represent the god that presided over the Roman conjugal couch.

Most crude, most simple, most direct was this representation of a mysterious agency; but as civilization grew, as the intellect of Greece, of Rome, of Europe advanced, symbolism became less direct, more complicated, more diffused. Even philosophy could not resist its charm, and its convenience; the Neoplatonists in one age, the Neapolitan Vico in another, demonstrated that philosophy no less than religion could be allied with symbolism,—showed, in fact, that philosophies and religions might perish, but symbolism yet survive. A period in which the natural processes of nature were the chief subject of symbolic representation was followed by others in which the abstract theories of philosophy, or the artificial doctrines of religion, were similarly treated. When we come to consider the

symbolism prevailing in southern Italy during the early part of the nineteenth century we shall find it devoted to the purpose of cloaking from the curious and of expounding to the initiated the political doctrines launched on the world by the action of the French Revolution.

Alongside of the religious and philosophical symbolism of Italy, of which the ancient descent and persistence have been sufficiently suggested, a far-reaching chain of secret associations having mutual help, political, or merely criminal, objects, may be traced back for many centuries. For the present purpose it will be better not to carry this survey back beyond the Middle Ages, though in the trade guilds and other associations of the Roman Empire, in the secret assemblies of the early Christians, in the Eleusinian mysteries and in other sources, might be traced influences that helped to give its outward form to the society of the Carbonari.

In Sicily we find that the modern society of the Mafia, an illegal and criminal association, has a direct ancestry that may be traced for nearly a thousand years. In the twelfth century a secret association arose in the island known as the Vendicosi, their name suggesting that they may have been akin in their object to the German Vehmgericht. The Vendicosi were followed by the Beati Paoli, whose traces may be found as late as the eighteenth century. To the south of Sicily, in the island of Malta, secret association and symbolism flourished. The Knights of St. John derived many of their secret rites and mysteries from the East, and there may be traced some similarity of organization and teaching between them and the Assassins with whom the Crusades had brought them

into contact. The symbolism in vogue among the Knights of Malta made its influence felt at Naples.[1]

The Templars were unquestionably unorthodox in matters of faith, and their secret practices were doubtless, to a certain extent, intended to veil this unorthodoxy. They did not stand alone in that respect. Dissent from the Roman doctrines and the Roman authority was as wide-spread in the centuries that preceded the Reformation as in that in which the Protestants secured their independence, although not so successfully proclaimed. In the unorthodox societies of the Middle Ages such as those of the Albigenses, the Cathari, the Paulicians, the Patarini, the Waldenses and others, dissenters from Roman authority just as the early Christians had been, may be traced many of the characteristics of the secret societies of a later day.

Comparing the *Perfecti* of the Cathari and the secret society of the Maestri Perfetti of a later day, we may be entitled to claim, at all events, a traditional reminiscence, which is strengthened when we find occurring in the rites of initiation of the latter a political sentiment and a quaint and picturesque phrase used by the Albigenses in a similar way some 600 years before. In a speech made to the candidate for initiation to the

[1] A similarity between one of the Carbonaro rites of initiation and one of the Templars will be noted in due course. The *Cimaruta*, the favourite charm of the Neapolitans, is probably a perverted form of a Templar symbol; it is generally a small silver ornament representing a key, a crescent moon enclosing a man's face, and several clusters of leaves of rue. Many varieties of this ornament are to be found, among which not a few in which instead of leaves of rue four feet appear. In its early Neapolitan form it doubtless was connected with the worship of Diana, a favourite goddess of those parts; but an emblem often met with at Malta has a similar form and can be closely associated with the secret practices for which the Templars were condemned,—the worship of Baphomet in the guise of a bearded head with four feet. The accusation against the Templars says: *Dictum caput habet quattuor pedes duos ante ex parte faciei, et duos retro*,—precisely this arrangement has been noted in one Maltese specimen, but the variations between this and the typical Neapolitan *Cimaruta* are endless.

Maestri Perfetti the wrongs suffered by the people of Italy were recited, and the following sentence was used: '. . . dopo aver ruinato l' edificio delle Romane leggi fino al punto di stabilire le infame prove dell' acqua e dell' *fuoco*, il vergognoso diritto di *cuissage*, e fino a distinguerli coll' obbrobriosa frase di *Jacques le bonhomme qui pleure et qui paie*. . . .'[1]

The Albigenses not only employed the expression *Bonhomme* or *Bonshomme*, but made use of a system of secret signs or passwords. The Cathari, who were closely allied to them in doctrine and method, employed practices even now not unknown. Their initiation ceremonies opened with the reading of the first eighteen verses of the Gospel of St. John, "In the beginning was the Word . . ."—which is still practised in some forms of modern masonry; and it may further be noted that the Cathari, though strongest in northern Italy, obtained a considerable following in Naples and Calabria.

A somewhat similar sect, the *adombrados* of Spain, followed the teaching of Lully of Majorca.[2] They may serve as a convenient connecting link with the Rosicrucians and Illuminati of France and Germany. The Rosicrucians had two periods of existence, one at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the other towards the end of the eighteenth. In the first their

[1] From a manuscript copy of the rites of the *Maestri Perfetti* in *Brit. Foreign Off., Sicily*, 92, . . . "after having destroyed the edifice of the Roman law to the point of establishing the infamous trials by water and by fire, the shameful right of *cuissage*, and finally in marking him by the opprobrious phrase of *Jacques le bonhomme* who weeps and who pays. . . ." A note on the margin of this MS. gives the date of the society as 1811, but it does not appear possible that it should be placed any earlier than 1816, while 1820 is a far more probable date.

[2] Not Raymond Lully the alchemist. The Spanish *adombrados*, or *illuminati*, were mystics, and approached the Molinists in doctrine. Loyola was suspected of holding their views. They were stamped out by the Inquisition.

society was closely allied to the wave of thought in which alchemy played a prominent part, and in which symbolism was more than ever before employed to interpret mysteries too obscure for comprehension without its aid.[1] German symbolism found its extreme expressions in the alchemysts in one direction and in Albrecht Dürer in another. In the *Chymische Hochzeit* of Christian Rosenkreutz, a curious and important work, may be traced a distinct descent of thought from the doctrines so unmercifully suppressed in Provence by the Roman Church when it destroyed the Albigenses. For the doctrine of political equality that was to be the great means of propaganda of the French Revolution and the inspiring spring of many of the secret societies of a later period is here clearly enunciated.

The seventeenth-century Rosicrucians were deeply imbued with Lutheranism, and even among the alchemysts there appears to have been little disposition to free thought. They made of the cross their chief symbol: with the rose placed at the intersection of the arms it was held to represent Christ raised for the volatization of the four elements. It will serve to illustrate the principle that the same symbols might conceal opposite modes of thought within a short series of years if the change between the Rosicrucians of the seventeenth and those of the eighteenth century be noted. For it cannot be too often repeated that the secret societies must not be thought of as carrying out a policy long since mysteriously evolved and transmitted, but rather as proving a convenient vessel for the safe harbouring of the advanced ideas of the day.

[1] "An alchemyst, on the contrary, shall reduce divinity to the maxims of his laboratory; explain morality by sal sulphur and mercury and allegorize the Scripture itself and the sacred mysteries thereof into the philosopher's stone. . . ." (Locke, *Conduct of the Understanding*.)

The Rosicrucians of 1600 were Lutherans in ideal, those of 1780 were followers of Rousseau. But when we reach the close of the eighteenth century we find Freemasonry in its full vigour, and the movement of which the masonic societies were the most conspicuous representatives must now receive attention.

From the *soladitates* and *collegia* of the Romans may be traced the friendly societies and guilds of mediæval Italy. In Sicily trade guilds had long been established and were powerful institutions towards the close of the eighteenth century. At Palermo they more than once exercised decisive influence in municipal affairs under the guidance of their *consuls*, as they named their presiding officers. None of these guilds was more powerful than that of the tanners or *conciarotti*, which was eventually dissolved, as a political measure, by Lord William Bentinck.[1] In Naples there were similar associations, but none so popular as the burying fraternities whose masked processions may even now be seen conveying their deceased members to their last resting-place.

Such associations and trade guilds were not confined to Italy. In the forests of north-eastern France and southern Germany, on either side of the country where the Vehmgericht held sway in the thirteenth century, the charcoal burners and wood hewers had long pursued guild methods. Of this species of trade guild, generically known as *compagnonage*, there were many forms and offshoots; some, as the Chauffeurs, were purely criminal; others, as the Charbonnerie of the Jura mountains, closely akin to the Kohlenbrenner of

[1] Mary Caroline Memoirs.—It is curious to find Lanciani stating that the tanners were the "most powerful and most troublesome of Roman trade guilds."—*New Tales of Old Rome*, 296.

the Black Forest, probably represented a genuine workmen's society for mutual help. The Charbonnerie of the Jura was still in existence at the time of the French Revolution, and it was at this period that it suffered a transformation similar to that which had overtaken the ancient guild of the working masons about one hundred years earlier.

It is unnecessary to say that in the fabulous and highly impressive origins of the masonic mystery officially propounded to the devout, the dispassionate inquirer will discover nothing more novel than typical myths, of which examples are familiar. The legends of Solomon, of Hiram, and of the Queen of Sheba, or the even less remote starting-point proposed by Ramsay, may safely be left outside the scope of historical investigation, and relegated to the convivial discussions of the brethren. There can be little question, however, that modern masonry adopted many of the secret rites and the system of grips and passwords employed by the mediæval guild of the working masons. The antiquity of that guild is undoubted, and in the frequent journeyings of masons, as building operations called them to this or that other town or province, may be seen at once the reason for their society of mutual help and recognition, together with that for their wide diffusion. But the new masonry was the association of a different class of men, and never assumed the characteristic aspect of a trade guild; it lost all the features of the older society, save only its rites and symbolism. The period of change from the old to the new masonry is generally accepted as about the year 1700; the transition may have been marked by a lodge formed by a club of architects and builders in London during the reign of James II. At Florence there was a lodge of masons, or of the *Trowel*, in the

sixteenth century; this was still in existence under the same name, but presumably in a modified form, in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Nowhere in Italy did the new masonry flourish more vigorously than at Naples. Lodges were numerous before 1720; later, however, they were put down. In accordance with the bulls against masonry issued by Clement XII. and Benedict XIV., Charles III. and Ferdinand suppressed the lodges. But after Ferdinand's marriage to Mary Caroline in 1766 freemasonry revived, and for a short space flourished exceedingly. It is even said that a female lodge, that of the *Giardiniere*, was instituted, to which the Queen herself was affiliated.

Before the Revolution broke out French masonry was in powerful hands; the most ambitious of politicians, the most deft of adventurers, the most wealthy and most speculative of bankers met in its ranks. As members of the lodge of the *Amis Réunis*, Lauzun and Mirabeau, Orléans and Panchaud, Clavière and Talleyrand, met on common ground. Its ramifications were international, for the French adept was welcomed with open arms in the lodges of Germany and Italy, even occasionally of insular England. Rosicrucians and Illuminati were little more than masons with extreme views on ritual, politics, or religion, and the confusion and variability of rites only extended the scope of the operations of the secret brotherhood, and brought them into easier relations with other societies. It was thus by masonry that the *Charbonnerie* became revivified, and converted into an active agent.

During the early days of the French Revolution, when that great movement was drawing a mass of

middle and lower class men into the ranks of the national army, the Freemasonry and Charbonnerie of north-eastern France seem to have come together and thrown off new associations. A high masonic adept, the Marquis de Champagne, appears to have derived from the traditions of these societies and of Weisshaupt's Illuminism the Philadelphes, a military and republican organization. Much of the history of the Philadelphes is supported by evidence of the most doubtful kind, and here nothing more will be advanced concerning them save that several well-known officers of the French army are said to have been connected with the society. General Mallet, who for a few hours in 1812 seriously threatened the overturn of the Empire, was a member, and Moreau may have had relations with them.

The importance of the Philadelphes has doubtless been much exaggerated; yet there can be no doubt that for some years, especially between 1800 and 1804, a considerable amount of secret intriguing went on in the French army, and that from the forms of masonry and other societies, such as that of the Charbonniers, various lodges and associations were constituted. The Bandouliers, the Frères Bleus, the Miquelets, the Barbets, the Frères et Amis, all in different ways originated from the same causes and gave the Government much trouble.

The opinions which these societies served to cloak were mainly republican. Bonaparte's policy of Cæsarism and reconciliation with Rome aroused their resentment and prompted their revenge. This feeling probably culminated about the time of Moreau's arrest and of Napoleon's assumption of the Imperial dignity, for with a large part of the army the Empire did not

win immediate favour,[1] and the dissatisfaction that needed vent could find it only under cover of secrecy. Wherever the French army and civil administrators went, and especially in Italy, masonic and other lodges sprang up.[2] In Naples the same process took place, and no sooner were the French in possession than we find General Lecchi acting as Grand Master of a lodge of masons.[3]

Between the years 1806 and 1810 various secret societies flourished in different parts of the kingdom of Naples whose exact nature it is not possible to seize very clearly. They were mostly, but not entirely, masonic, and the membership of some was purely Neapolitan, of others purely French, and of a few mixed. Masonic lodges were especially numerous in Calabria, notably at Reggio, Cosenza, Catanzaro, Nicastro, Monteleone, and Cotrone; they were frequently connected with the local organization of civic guards.

But alongside of masonry were other influences. Thus emissaries visited Sir John Stuart, when he was threatening Naples from Ischia in 1809, who represented themselves as belonging to a secret organization of *Patriotti* having ramifications all over Italy. These emissaries may have been Cassetti and Bianchemani, who, as Canosa asserts, were members of a secret association of nationalist aims, of which Saliceti was head. Similar organizations, all probably more or less influenced by the masonic movement, existed as early

[1] See Ségur's account of how Mouton tried to prevent his grenadiers from cheering for the Emperor (*Mems.* ii. 284), or Courier's witty description of how the news of the proclamation of the Empire was received at the mess of his regiment (*Mems.* i. 61).

[2] As examples: a lodge of freemasons founded at Salamanca by Colonel Lacuée and joined by the inhabitants (Thiébault, *Mems.*); a lodge of Philadelphes founded at Geneva by Buonarotti (Guillon, 196).

[3] There is apparently a mistake in the date given by Gould (vi. 299).

as 1806, and an English resident at Catania, writing in July of that year, makes this remarkable statement :—

> There exists in Upper Italy a society of men consisting of the principal nobility, whose political views are directed to this grand object. This society has existed for several years, and many who adopted the dress and language of republicans secretly held the following doctrine: That Italy ought to be under one head; and that she should adopt, as far as circumstances would permit, a limited constitution of monarchy. . . .[1]

Assuming this statement to represent some real fact, the channel for conveying such ideas from Lombardy to Naples was ready found in Lecchi and other officers of the Italian legion.

The question now arises : When and where did the society of the Carbonari come into existence ? There is no direct evidence on which an exact answer can be based ; at the best we have probabilities and surmise. The most weighty opinion yet expressed is that of Baron Helfert, who, taking Capobianco as representative of the first Carbonaro lodge, deduces, from the fact of his living near the forest of Sila, the theory that the rites of the society of which he was head were derived from those of the charcoal burners who dwelt in that forest. That opinion is up to a certain point plausible, but when we come to examine the ritual of the Carbonari it will hardly appear probable. A more plausible conjecture appears to be this :—

In the army of invasion was a regiment of Swiss, from French Switzerland, that is from a part of Switzerland that borders on the Jura. This regiment was for some time in garrison at Capua, and several authorities give Capua as a place where one of the early

[1] Leckie, 31.

lodges of Carbonari flourished. A regiment drawn from the Jura, and in the French service, might well have brought with it the traditions of the old Charbonnerie in its new masonic guise, and as we shall find in the ritual of the Italian Carbonari a strong resemblance to that of the old charcoal-burners' guild of north-eastern France the presumption is thereby correspondingly strengthened that it drew its origin from that source. It appears, therefore, reasonably probable to advance that the Carbonari came into existence about the year 1808, and that they derived their most characteristic rites from the secret societies of the French army. By reason of some superiority in organization or in ritual picturesqueness, they rapidly spread and gained importance. They soon became entirely Italian in composition, pursued an Italian policy, and added ancient symbolism and methods to those which the invaders had taught them.

Freemasons were generally admitted into the secret associations without much difficulty, and in the various societies among which membership was all but interchangeable the Carbonari made greatest progress. Following the policy adopted by Napoleon towards masonry, the Neapolitan Government officially recognised the lodges, and Maghella, with many functionaries and police agents, were initiated. In addition to Maghella, Daure, at one time Minister of the Interior, and Pasquale Borrelli were among its most prominent official supporters. The Carbonari, like the masons and every other secret society, were constantly undergoing changes; and among them was a movement similar to that which had taken place in masonry, whereby the central lodges attempted to obtain a governing control, which the provincial lodges vigorously opposed.

The Government was less successful in directing the Carbonari than the masons. Joachim was for a time Grand Master of the masonic lodges. But a large body of masons broke off from the guidance of the Grand Lodge *Giuseppina* and attempted to regain independence of action; it was probably among them that the Carbonari gained many of their best recruits.

It must not, however, be inferred from what has just been stated that the Carbonari moved in a direction consistently hostile to the government of King Joachim. By 1813 they had acquired a very large membership that included all shades of political opinion,—royalist and republican, Muratist and Bourbonist; and owing to their growing importance and to the difficulty the Government found in obtaining control of them, Queen Caroline, acting under the advice of Maghella, attempted to suppress the lodges. It was about this time that a dissenting party broke off from the Carbonari and formed the new society of the Calderari, with which we shall soon be concerned.

The main facts of the history of the Carbonari during the last two years of the reign of Joachim have already been outlined. Before coming to their organization, doctrines, and ritual, but a few more facts need be noticed. The revolt in the Abruzzi in 1814 brought to a head the hostility between the Carbonari and the Government, and from that time till Murat's fall the main stream of the society appears to have been Bourbonist in sentiment, with hopes fostered from Sicily, perhaps partly through the agency of Bentinck, that the return of Ferdinand would be marked by the grant of a constitution. The Hereditary Prince in fact appears to have been affiliated, and to have reached some rank in the society.

The events of 1814-15, and notably the throwing out of employment of so many capable military and civil officials by the destruction of the French Empire, had among other results that of filling the ranks of the secret societies. A polypus of secret dissatisfaction, of political aspiration, of personal ambitions, formed under varying shapes and under the cloak of mysterious associations. The Protettori Repubblicani, the Adelfi, the Spilla Nera, the Fortezza, the Speranza, the Fratelli, the Siberia, the Progresso, the Edenisti, Scamiciati, Egizj, Dormenti, Filantropici, Eremiti, Fedeli, Filadelfi, sprang into existence in various parts of Italy.[1] Their forms varied greatly: in the ex-kingdom of Italy, now an Austrian province, the Carbonaro lodges assumed a far more Gallicized character than at Naples.[2]

The doctrines, ritual, and organization of the Carbonari were at no period quite uniform. There was always great variation, not only from year to year but even from lodge to lodge, so that the account here presented of these matters must be taken only in a general or average sense. This account is intended to give an approximate idea of what the society stood for during the period 1815-1821 in southern Italy; but the material of which it is constructed is unfortunately of a very piecemeal character, and it may happen occasionally that consecutive paragraphs will refer to ritual of the time of King Joachim and of that of the Carbonaro Revolution. No other course appeared possible if a general impression was to be conveyed to

[1] Other societies of purely criminal intent could be cited, as the Bucatori, Fuscia-acca Rossa, and others.

[2] *Il Carbonaro istruito*—see Bibliography. This is referred to by several contemporaries as a printed book. The only copy that has come under observation is in manuscript form (*Biblioteca Nazionale*, Naples)—Cantù places the origin of the Hetaira as early as the close of the Empire; this appears very questionable.

the reader, nor is it thought that this general impression will be very wide of the historical truth.

Among the Neapolitan Carbonari there were, during the early years, but two classes of members,—apprentices and masters.[1] The aspirant for initiation attended a general meeting of the lodge or *baracca*. This was generally held in a barn at night, and was known as a *vendita*. The candidate was led blindfold to the door of the barn, and his conductor, knocking, called out: "A pagan knocks at the door."[2] The answer to this was the sound of the blow of an axe within. A voice then questioned: "Who is the rash being who dares trouble our sacred labours?" To this the conductor replied: "It is a man whom I have found wandering in the forest."

After several more questions the neophyte, still blindfold, was introduced, and various rites having been performed, his eyes were unveiled, whereupon, looking to the right and left, he perceived some such sight as this :—

At either hand, ranged on benches, sat two lines of the *Buoni Cugini*, or good cousins, for so the Carbonari styled one another. Those on the neophyte's right sat covered, indicating their higher rank in the order; and among the tall hats, knee breeches, and close pantaloons they wore, might occasionally be seen military boots, or even some frayed old uniform and plumed shako reminiscent of the days of King Joachim. At the top end

[1] *Costituzione della Repub. Lucana*, 53. After the success of the Carbonari more complicated ritual was introduced. Witt gives seven grades; the first three were unimportant, at the fourth an oath against all monarchs, and especially the Bourbons, was administered, etc. No such system had any long continuance or appreciable influence.

[2] The term "pagan" was much used by the Carbonari, and recalls the similar use of the Roman soldiers when speaking of non-military persons. See Boissier, *Tacite*, 37.

of the barn sat three principal officers, each with a large log or tree-trunk resting on the tiled floor in front of him, serving as a table. Behind the central figure, that of the Grand Master, a picture was suspended on the wall of the barn, representing St. Theobald, patron saint of the Order. The three officials were carefully dressed, and wore various insignia. On the tree-trunks before them were placed several objects, of which the significance was soon explained to the neophyte. Behind him and to his right sat three masters of ceremony, two of them provided with tree-trunks similar to those already described, and holding axes or hatchets in their hands. The officials on either side of the Grand Master were the Orator and the Secretary. A few candles feebly illuminated the scene, and the dim light served to render more impressive the silence with which the candidate's arrival was greeted.

The Orator generally opened the proceedings with a discourse, and the nature of this generally varied with the intelligence and trustworthiness of the new member. As a rule, the discourse did not descend to particulars, but confined itself to abstractions as harmless as they were high-sounding, to the putting forward of that class of opinions that form the small change of the professional politician, that "are suited to vulgar capacities and adapted to the end of those that govern," as Locke tersely puts it. A typical example of such a discourse ran as follows:—

Hear me, dear and good Cousins:

Nature when she created man meant him to be free. It is, therefore, the duty of every man to keep himself so, and to fulfil the engagement she has imposed on him by diffusing liberty among his brethren, by communicating his pleasures to them, by partaking in their pains and labours, and by considering

himself on an equality with all his fellow-creatures, so that he may exalt himself to the most sublime heights of virtue.

Unfortunately, the flattering hopes of seeing such virtue become universal have been deceived. The tender name of brother has been renounced, and man has treated his fellow-man as an enemy. At first the strong usurped the rights of the weak. Afterwards violence was superseded by cunning. Hence arose intrigue, hatred, treason, imposture, superstition: man became the vile slave of his infamous passions. Yet Reason, sovereign of the human mind, enlightened some sager individuals as to the real nature of things. She preserved them from the general corruption; and they endeavoured to bring back their wandering fellow-mortals to the neglected paths of virtue. But, deaf to the voice of reason, they rejected her precepts. It was then that, still indefatigable, these benevolent sages conceived the idea of secret societies, which, assiduously labouring to give a better education to mankind, might be the means of exciting them to virtue; and these societies are those of the Carbonari.[1]

In addition to the discourse, the most important part of the rites consisted of the oath and of the explanation of the symbolism of the Carbonari.

The oath administered to the candidates for the rank of apprentice was very general in its terms; it provided for secrecy, obedience, and mutual help. It was administered to the kneeling candidate by the Grand Master, who, holding a piece of wood in his left hand,[2] and in his right an outstretched axe, said: "To the great Saint Theobald our Protector, In the name and under the auspices of the Vendita of . . . and in virtue of the power conferred on me in this respectable Vendita, I make, name, and create you an apprentice Carbonaro."

The picture of St. Theobald was then explained to the new apprentice. The fact that this saint was the patron of the Carbonari makes their connection with the

[1] Bertholdi, 28.

[2] As in the Mithraic initiation.

Charbonnerie of the Jura more apparent; for St. Theobald was a saint in much repute through north-eastern France, having many followers at Auxerre, Provins, Metz, Langre, Toul, Trèves, and other towns; and not only was he patron of the Charbonnerie of the Jura, but also of the Kohlenbrenner of the Black Forest. In his picture St. Theobald was generally represented as seated by a tree-trunk in a forest outside the door of a charcoal-burner's hut. Legends were related to the new apprentice as to the origin of the society, of which the variations were probably infinite. The period of King Philip of Macedon was sometimes taken as a starting-point; but there seems to have been a general consensus in all the lodges that King Francis the First of France had been the earliest protector of the society. His health was always given at festivals, and the official period of existence of the Carbonari was invariably dated back to his reign.

The trunk of the tree was explained to represent the surface of the earth on which the Good Cousins were dispersed. Its verdant foliage indicated that, as our first parents covered their shame with leaves, so the Good Cousins ought to conceal the faults of their fellow-men, and particularly those of the society. After interpreting the meaning of a white cloth, water, and salt, the novice's attention was called to a crown of thorns and a cross. The crown, he was told, signified that he must be cautious and quiet in all his movements, to avoid the pain of being wounded. The cross typified the labours, persecution, and death of those who aspire to virtue. Earth, a ladder, and a bundle of sticks received due notice, after which the three colours of the society were expounded: black, or charcoal, for faith; blue, or smoke, for hope; and red, or

fire, for charity. A small piece of wood attached to a ribbon of those three colours was the apprentice's badge; the wood stood for the pole of the charcoal-burner's hut.

The apprentice was able after his noviciate to rise to the higher mysteries of the Carbonari, according to the intelligence he displayed and the zeal with which he carried out the orders of his superiors. He was instructed how one Carbonaro might make himself known to another in a variety of ways;[1] passwords and sacred signs were imparted to him, the dread significance of the daggers and axes that embellished the baths of the lodge, and the virtue of the Christian faith that made of the cross the most important of the symbols.

The statutes of the Carbonari found their highest, or perhaps one should say their most complicated, expression in those of the lodges of Principato Ultra and Calabria that respectively acknowledged the leadership of the central lodges of Salerno and of Potenza. A pamphlet bearing no indication, but probably printed at the latter city in July or August 1820, set forth what was entitled the "Costituzione del Popolo Carbonaro della Repubblica Lucana Orientale." This was a violently republican pronouncement, the title-page being inscribed with the following ferocious lines from Monti's *Ode to Liberty*:—

Ma tua piantà radici non pone
Che su pezzi d' infrante corone,
Ne si pesche di fresche ruggiade
Ma di sangue, di membra di re.[2]

[1] *Arch. Nap.* cxlvi. ii. 4711: Processo Salerni. There was a special way of handing wine-glasses by means of which Good Cousins could recognise one another. The grip or touch-sign of the master rank was made with the middle finger on the right thumb of the person addressed; it may be represented by the following sign: ⊕ · —— ·· —— ··

[2] Thy plant shall stretch no root—but in fragments of shattered crowns,—nor draw fresh dew—but from the blood, the limbs of kings.

This constitution or statute formed of the Carbonaro community a state within the State. It provided a complete code of morality, and inculcated every maxim of honour and virtue. All disputes between Carbonari were to be referred to the *vendita* before being taken to a civil tribunal, and so complete was the invasion of the State's privilege of justice that a clause specified the French civil code as that by which the decisions of the *vendita* were to be guided. The rules of virtue the Carbonari were called on to practise were strict,—nearly incredibly so for their age and country. Gambling, frequenting wine-shops, dissoluteness, breaches of conjugal fidelity, were all matters that entailed trial before a jury of the Good Gousins, and possibly expulsion. Such juries may be suspected to have been either very busy or very kind.

The code of the "Popolo Carbonaro della Repubblica Lucana" represented the extreme reached by Carbonarism morally and politically; it was doubtless carefully revised for purposes of publication. This and reasons of prudence forbad the statement of the extreme penalty inflicted by the Carbonari; but the traditions of the vendetta and brigandage would in themselves be sufficient proof that the affairs of a *baracca* could not be carried on with any degree of smoothness without an occasional resort to assassination. Whether carried out in the name of Carbonaro morality or of private interest or revenge, there is nothing to show that the *baracca* made any attempt to stamp out perhaps the most generally honoured of the traditions of the kingdom of Naples—that of homicide.

The apprentice whom every test had proved faithful, and whose ability or influence happened to recommend him, might be admitted to the rank of Master. In this

higher grade there was some possibility that he might find opportunity for learning what was the real object of the society he belonged to. The ceremonies for admission to this rank were most complicated; one of them will be shortly described, after which more general considerations must engage us.

The Grand Masters present first saluted three times God, the Grand Master of the Universe, and St. Theobald; then the President, putting on a special robe, assumed the character of Pontius Pilate; others assumed those of Caiaphas, Herod, and such personages. On the candidate being introduced, the President said to him: "Good Cousin, your trials as a novice are not sufficient to raise you to an equality with us; you must undergo more important trials; reflect upon it and tell us your intention." On the candidate expressing his readiness for any ordeal that might be appointed, the President added: "Conduct him to the Olives." He was then led outside, made to kneel, and prayed in the following words:—

"If the pains I am about to suffer can be useful to mankind, I do not ask to be delivered from them. Thy will be done and not mine."

The ceremony then proceeded on lines which the reader can follow from the Gospel account of the trial and sufferings of Jesus Christ. The cup of bitterness was drained; the candidate was bound and brought before Herod; to his question he answered: "I am the Son of God"; he was finally crowned with thorns, and in this guise called on to take the Master's oath, whereby he swore before the Grand Master of the Universe and on the avenging steel to do very much the same things he had sworn as an apprentice.

One may advance without much hesitation that the

ceremony just described,—and contemporary authorities furnish many others like it, even the scene of the crucifixion being represented,—was chiefly of Neapolitan origin.[1] It was in reality only an adaptation for the purposes of the society of the sacred dramas dear to the heart of the people. Once before we have caught a glimpse of the hold Christian symbolism had on the popular imagination when we saw the whole population of a sacked Calabrian village greet King Joseph, kneeling in the ashes of their houses, their heads crowned with thorns. The dramatic, tangible representation of their objective was no less evident in the secret societies of Italy than in her religion or art, and in this she merely revealed the antiquity and continuity of her race and of her traditions.

In the Carbonari the past was completely interwoven with the present. Mighty symbols, great names, lofty ideals, jumbled together religions and philosophies, the symbols of Alexandria with the creed of the Jacobin Club, the ritual of charcoal-burners and of Knights Templars. But the imposing structure was only an imposture, a fleeting bubble woven of that most evanescent of textures, political cowardice. Mysticism and symbolism, passwords and ceremonies, doctrines and decrees, might gather their attendant train of expounders and believers, might make the uninitiated tremble, or a throne shake, yet the fact remained that what all stood for was fear. The men who declined in hundreds to sit on King Joachim's provincial councils, to register by a cringing vote, but by daylight, the decrees of his prefects, were prepared to meet in a barn by night under cover of secrecy, to wear gaudy insignia, deliver empty

[1] Such ceremonies suggest a reminiscence of religious rites of the first few centuries of the Christian era.

speeches, and perform schoolboy rituals. The long political blight of the centuries, the curse of feudalism, the rottenness of ignorance and superstition, had eaten out nearly every vestige of political and self-respecting spirit. Political thought had been aroused under the rule of the French kings, but the people of Naples had yet to learn that political freedom cannot exist without moral courage.

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CHAPTER III

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Papal action against Carbonari—Zuccari's arrest—Maghella's—Carbonaro intrigue—Increase in membership—Sanfedism—Calderari—Canosa—Arms the Calderari—Policy of Government—Carbonari decorated—Position of Muratists—Bentinck at Naples—French at Naples—Medici—Other Ministers—Finance—Amnesty—Confiscations—Austrian policy—Jablonowsky—Nugent and Neapolitan army—Sicilian constitution—Ferdinand I. of Two Sicilies—Marriage of Duchesse de Berri—U.S. claims reparation—Disorders in Puglia—Secret societies—Relations with the Papacy—Concordat—Factions at Court—The *fedeloni*—Reconstruction of the San Carlo—Ferdinand cuts his queue—Death of Charles IV.—State of the kingdom.

FROM the time of the Statute of Bayonne and the accession of Joachim there had been, as we have already seen, a well-defined movement towards constitutionalism and Italian nationalism. That movement was nearly entirely confined to masonic and other secret society circles, and had culminated, though in feeble enough fashion, at the period of Joachim's campaigns in 1814 and 1815. The restored governments were well aware of the nature of that movement, and were not slow in showing what attitude they intended to adopt in regard to it.

No sooner had Pius VII. returned to his capital

than he issued a *motu proprio* confirming the bulls of Clement XII. and Benedict XIV. against freemasonry, and extending their operation to the Carbonari (Aug. 1814). When Nugent, a few days before the battle of Tolentino, occupied Rome, one of his first cares was to arrest the Neapolitan consul and political agent Cavaliere Zuccari, whose connection with the secret societies and agitation of the capital had wellnigh brought him into open hostility with the Papal Government. At Naples Bianchi had likewise arrested Maghella and sent him as a prisoner to Vienna.[1] No sooner was Ferdinand back on the throne, in fact, than the momentary rapprochement between the Bourbons and the Carbonari vanished into air as thin as the blue smoke of the charcoal-burner's fire. The King forgot in a very few days that the Carbonari had generally turned against Joachim, and his unconcealed hostility quickly resulted in reducing the membership and enthusiasm of the lodges. Ferdinand's hostility may have been heightened by the fact that at the time of Murat's attempt at Pizzo treasonable correspondence was intercepted between the Intendente of Basilicata and some Carbonaro lodges, and the Government may well have feared that had Joachim landed a few months later, and at some better-chosen spot, he might have found the Good Cousins ready to rise for him.

In the large and somewhat indiscriminate increase that had taken place in the membership of the Carbonari the professional and liberal class had gradually become outnumbered by the lower classes. Whereas at first the old Jacobin party took the lead, later priest influence began to predominate and the ideals which, arrayed

[1] According to another account, Maghella succeeded in reaching northern Italy before he was arrested.

under the banners of the Santa Fede, had triumphed over the republic of 1799. Sanfedism and the Sanfedisti were no new thing in Naples; without being a concrete association like that of the Carbonari, they were a loose kind of militant religious organisation held together by clerical authority and tradition. The society of the Santa Fede is said to have played a part so early as the time of the destruction of the Albigenses, having been founded by Cardinal Beltramo in the reign of Pope Honorius III. Local organizations in support of the Holy Faith were generally under the guidance of a village priest, and when many of the villages came into the Carbonaro movement it was inevitable that the local lodge should fall under priestly influence. This was proved as early as 1814, when the leaders of the Carbonari were coquetting with Joachim, with the result that many of the lodges fell away and formed new associations of a clearly Bourbonist and Catholic character, such as the Trinitarii.

Among these dissident societies, however, the best-known was that of the Calderari. Their name was probably derived from that of one of the most important of the trade guilds of Palermo, the braziers, or Calderai. The secret organization of these societies had been made use of by Queen Mary Caroline in her numerous plots for ridding Sicily of the British, with the result that Bentinck had arranged for their suppression as trade guilds. But in the constant stream of intrigue and communication flowing between Sicily and Naples the name of Calderari appears to have survived and been transplanted, and became prominently associated with that of the Prince of Canosa.

On his return from the island of Ponza in 1809, this most inveterate of all the plotters of his day had

fallen into disgrace with Mary Caroline and remained unemployed for several years. After her fall he once more came into favour, or employment, and at the time of Murat's descent at Pizzo was sent on a special mission to Calabria; he was, however, recalled on the receipt of the news that Murat had been duly executed. A few months later, on the 27th of January 1816, he was made Minister of Police. The appointment, not without reason, caused great excitement.

Canosa's predecessor, Medici, had paid but slight attention to the secret societies; but under Canosa there was a complete change. He was now in his element once more, and as the first measure of his administration he quickly formed the existing Sanfedist societies into one great organization of the Calderari; this he intended to use for a counterpoise or *contrapeso*, as he called it, to the Carbonari.

The new society was frankly declared to aim at the extermination of all Carbonari, freemasons, Muratists, and liberals, and thus revived once more the bitter political vendettas of the past twenty years. Canosa was not the man to stay his hand before striking an enemy; no sooner had he formed his anti-liberal society than he proceeded to arm it by distributing 20,000 government muskets among its members. But this step proved more than even a Bourbon government could stand. From all sides remonstrances poured in. The representatives of the Powers supported the rational section of Ferdinand's Ministers, and "the King himself, with great good sense, set his face against this society."[1] Canosa was promptly dismissed, and the Carbonari, for a moment threatened with destruction, now took courage once

[1] Church, *Mems.* 28.

more. From this time on they continued quietly in existence, the sparks of liberalism still smouldering, until an event occurred in the year 1820 that suddenly brought them to the front. But before we reach this event several other matters must be reviewed that belong to the intervening years.

The machine of government found in operation by Ferdinand on his return was so infinitely superior to that in use formerly that there was never any serious thought of reverting back to the old system of administration. The King's engagements to Austria, the labour of elaborating a new system, the perfect adaptability of Joachim's institutions to the essential requirements of arbitrary personal government, all made change undesirable. It was decreed immediately on Ferdinand's return that the existing laws and officials would be retained, that the public debt and sales of State property would be recognised, and that there would be no restitution to the nobility returning with the King from Sicily of such confiscated property as had been legally sold. So slight indeed were the apparent changes that an English traveller was able to record that in the Royal Palace the only notable alteration was the hanging of a crucifix over the King's bed, a fashion that had not obtained under the French kings.

Ferdinand, under pressure of Austrian advice, adhered commendably to a policy of conciliation, and at first even prominent Carbonaro leaders were made the recipients of the royal favour. Such noted supporters of the late government as Gallo, Carignano, S. Teodoro and Campochiaro were received at Court, though coolly, and it was reported that Ferdinand viewed with least favour of all those of the Muratists

who had not presented themselves and had fled like Zurlo. Even those Sicilians who had supported Bentinck and thus won official station were generally left undisturbed now that Ferdinand was able once more to direct his own affairs. But whatever forgiveness might be shown by the restored King to the Sicilian supporters of the British statesman, for Bentinck himself there was none. A deep hatred still rankled in the heart of Ferdinand for the many humiliations he had endured, and an opportunity soon arose to make it manifest to the world.

Bentinck had finished the very difficult work Great Britain had entrusted to him in the Mediterranean, not without unfortunate incidents, yet also not without painfully attained advantages for his country. This mission terminated, he was now on the point of returning to England, and, on sailing from Genoa, he decided to pay a flying visit to Naples. No sooner was this project of Bentinck known than Circello, Minister for Foreign Affairs, communicated to à Court, the British Minister, that the King would not give his consent to Bentinck's appearance in his dominions. The official reason put forward was that Lord William was a prominent supporter of the Carbonari, and that his presence was undesirable in view of the unsettled state of public opinion. In vain à Court tried to dissuade Bentinck from his purpose; the latter's tact once more proved less conspicuous than his determination, and he accordingly arrived in the bay of Naples an unbidden and unwelcome guest. à Court was, on the whole, more inclined to side with Ferdinand than with his former chief, and partly as a result of this, the King was enabled publicly to insult the man from whom he had himself received such humiliation, by issuing strict orders that he was not to be permitted to leave his ship and come

to land. As a consequence of this step, scarcely a soul went out to visit Bentinck. The British Minister declined to help him, and as he could not land by force, he was obliged ingloriously to set sail again for England, where the Ministry received his complaints with but slight sympathy.[1]

This, however, was but an isolated example of the resentment which Ferdinand felt at heart. The general moderation shown by the Government was so great that many of the French officers and officials who had followed Joachim's fortune when he turned against France preferred to remain in the kingdom rather than face a doubtful reception or start a new fortune in returning to their fatherland. Many had married into Neapolitan families and had thus become closely attached to their new homes.[2]

The principal agent of this moderation was the most considerable man among the King's Ministers, Cavaliere De Medici. He was a descendant of the Florentine ducal house of Medici, but being in poor circumstances, had embraced the law as a profession. He had joined the Republican party in 1799, though apparently in somewhat half-hearted fashion. A little later he obtained Government employment, and through various vicissitudes he had now made himself indispensable by showing abilities far greater than those of any of his colleagues. He was a capable administrator, his word could be accepted, and, compared with the men who surrounded him, he was honest. Of the other Ministers

[1] à Court's dispatches, *For. Off. Sicily*, 70.

[2] The French officers who served in the Neapolitan army in the campaign of 1815 received no notice of Murat's flight, were given no opportunity of making their escape, and were not provided for in the military convention of Casa Lanza. Bianchi treated them all as prisoners and sent them to Vienna, which, as Austria and France were at war, was perfectly proper.

little can be said but that they were typical of many that preceded them. To follow closely the frequent changes that took place in the composition, but not in the methods, of the Ministry will not be necessary. On Ferdinand's return foreign affairs were intrusted to Circello, as old as he was ignorant; the army and navy to St. Clair, perhaps because of the perfect discipline he had shown while in the service of the Queen; other posts to Tommasi, Parisi, and Naselli. Medici took for his part finance and police, and really directed the affairs of the State.

Whatever has been said in praise of Medici must be understood in a relative sense. Compared with his colleagues he was eminent; compared with his predecessors Roederer or Mosbourg he was far from being a good financier. In the five years during which he directed the finances of the kingdom the debt rose from about 800,000 ducats to nearly twice that amount. There were indeed special causes that increased the financial burdens of the State. The Congress of Vienna had made provision for Prince Eugène Beauharnais, and this was made to fall partly on the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand being called on to find 5,000,000 francs for the Prince. Again, the war expenses of Austria for the campaign of 1815, which Ferdinand had agreed to meet, had been considerably augmented by the continued presence of a corps of imperial troops in Naples, so that in 1817 a sum of 5,000,000 scudi was due to the Austrian Government.[1]

[1] In respect of maintaining a part of the army at others' expense, Austria faithfully adopted the system of Napoleon. For the year 1817 the estimated cost of the Austrian troops in Naples figured, in a very badly drawn up budget, at 3,500,000 ducats.—*Brit. State Papr.* 1816-1817, 891. A Neapolitan authority, however, makes the sum 1,600,000; it may be that the one represents the nominal, the other the real expenditure.—M.L.R. 127.

The restoration had in other ways embarrassed the royal finances. Without following the somewhat exaggerated figures of such writers as Del Re, M.L.R., and Colletta, it is certain that at the time of the Congress much money was distributed at Vienna by Ferdinand in diplomatic refreshers. From two millions to nine millions of ducats are the figures given by contemporary authorities under this head; whatever the total, it was probably large, and Talleyrand secured a fair share of it over the settlement of his claim to the revenues of Benevento.

Not only in the matter of finance, but in other directions the new Government met with embarrassments. The return of the King to his capital had been somewhat injudiciously commemorated by a general release from prison of all evil-doers sentenced for a term of three years or less, and this, together with the disbandment of Murat's army, had been the source of much disorder. Special military juntas soon became necessary in many districts, superseding the ordinary magistrates and procedure. Special tribunals were also appointed in several cases where the returned feudal lord attempted to reassert the rights abolished by the Feudal Commission. It was in this respect perhaps that the methods of the Government gave rise to most friction. The case was, indeed, a hard one to deal with, and it is not difficult to imagine that Ferdinand found it no easy matter to resist the importunities of those few loyal noblemen who had faithfully followed his fortunes in the darkest hour, and who now asked that they as well as he should be reinstated in their former possessions. Soon a disinclination to acknowledge the validity of the grants made by Joseph and Joachim became apparent, forced interpretations were made use of to

transfer back some of their property to the former proprietors, and these steps met with encouragement in high quarters. The Austrian Minister, Prince Jablonowsky, supported Ferdinand in his policy, but both he and the King were sharply pulled up by a dispatch from Metternich, in which he admirably stated his strong objections to the course taken :—

> The sequestration of the grants made by Joseph and Joachim (he wrote) is a dangerous measure certain to excite the fear of purchasers of State property. It is in any case contrary to the stipulations of the treaty of the 29th of April. It constitutes an infraction of the principle embodied in Clause II. of the treaty ; it is an attack on the right of property ; lastly, it is opening the door to persecution and revenge ; for to draw a line is difficult, if not impossible.[1]

The voice of Metternich was nearly as powerful and well obeyed at Naples as at Vienna, and his admonition appears to have had a salutary effect. The influence of Austria was paramount at Naples, though her representative, Jablonowsky, was far below the average of Austrian diplomatic ability. He attached himself to the entourage of the Duchess of Floridia, but his efforts were generally ill judged, and he required constant guidance from Metternich.

Austria was too well assured of Ferdinand's political principles to desire to take up any other position than that which existing treaties and her military preponderance in Italy gave her. Jablonowsky was restrained from intervening in the domestic affairs of the kingdom, and, indeed, had been officially reproved for not having assumed a purely neutral position in the question of the fate of Murat. Yet Metternich considered the presence of Austrian troops at Naples necessary to prevent all pos-

[1] Metternich to Jablonowsky, 30th August 1815, Helfert, *Murat*, 84.

sibility of dangerous reactions. Ferdinand also entirely approved of their presence, and had shown his gratitude and appreciation of their services by creating Bianchi Duke of Casa Lanza, and by granting him an annuity of 9000 ducats. The Austrian garrison was retained, therefore, until the year 1817, and when it was withdrawn Nugent remained behind as commander-in-chief of the Neapolitan army, much to the disgust of the native officers.

After Tolentino there had been no resistance offered by any portion of the Neapolitan army save at Gaëta, where General Begani bravely and honourably kept Joachim's flag flying until the news of Waterloo reached him. Then he surrendered. Of Murat's army there was little left but the officers, and for these the convention of Casa Lanza had stipulated that they should retain their rank and honours on swearing allegiance to Ferdinand. There were also the officers of the Sicilian army to be taken into account, and between them and their former enemies much hostility was displayed. Ferdinand not unnaturally showed more confidence in the Sicilians than in the Neapolitans, and in various ways distinguished them, thus making this feeling more acute.

Among the first army measures of the new Government was a decree, that was received with great approbation, abolishing the detested conscription. But later, at the time of the departure of the Austrian corps of occupation, it was considered advisable to increase the native forces of the kingdom, and a levy of twenty-one regiments of provincial militia was instituted. These regiments immediately became active centres of the Carbonari. After the war a great part of the Muratist army was sent to Salerno to be reformed,

but its disorder was so great and the confidence of the King in the generals so slight that it became necessary to place in supreme command, as we have already seen, Count Nugent. Something of the soldierly qualities of this officer has already been noted in connection with the campaigns of 1814 and 1815; it remains to be said that he possessed other qualifications, of manners and tact, that eminently fitted him for the post he was called to. One of the Neapolitan generals placed under his orders wrote of him that he was an "able officer, exceedingly courteous in his manners, and generally well disposed."[1]

The first period of the Bourbon restoration, the period between the years 1815 and 1820 that we are now viewing, was not full of stirring incidents. It was one of peaceful reaction, so far as superficial appearances went, of gentle sinking back into the easy-going and unprogressive routine of pre-Napoleonic days. There is little of moment to relate, nothing to excite, nothing to hold, the imagination. All that the historian can do is to attempt to seize, one after the other, the detached threads, each one of which appears trifling, yet each one of which is essential to the making up of the great chain of events that resulted in the liberal revolution of 1820. One of these threads that we must now pick up will take us back to Sicily and to the period in which Joachim was still King of Naples.

One of the most notable matters that arose out of Bentinck's rule over Sicily was the adoption for that island of a constitutional and parliamentary form of government closely modelled on that of England. The ancient Sicilian Parliament had indeed vested

[1] Pepe, *Mems.* ii. 139.

in it the power of voting money; by the reformed constitution it acquired that of legislating as well. Sicilian constitutionalism, however, was a very artificial movement, convenient for Bentinck, and doubtless well intended by him, but far beyond the political range of the islanders. From the year 1814, when the hold of Great Britain on the island began to relax, Bentinck's constitution rapidly fell into desuetude. In the winter of 1814-1815 the real power of the Government was fast being restored to the hands of Ferdinand. In February 1815 the cessation of the British subsidy had made him poorer but more free, and after the Parliament's session of that year came to an end, the King openly treated the Constitution as non-existent. His embarkation for Naples in May, without asking for the Parliament's consent, was a flagrant violation of a clause of the Constitution, and this was soon followed by others.

The mere fact that Sicily under Ferdinand had a Constitution, and that Naples under Joachim had not, proved of great service as a means of Bourbon propaganda, and when the two kingdoms were once more united under the same government, the question at once presented itself: Would constitutionalism extend to Naples, or despotism to Sicily? The engagement contracted by Ferdinand with Austria, his natural bent, and the course he had already taken, showed clearly what the sequel would be. Nor was the British Government so determined to uphold its work in Sicily as to resist the arguments of Metternich in support of the gradual steps whereby that work was finally put aside. The final change was not effected until December 1816; then Ferdinand, third of the name as King of Sicily, fourth as King of Naples,

issued a decree whereby he assumed the style of Ferdinand I. of the Two Sicilies. Other decrees followed unifying the political conditions of the two kingdoms, and, by a curious turn of fortune, driving from Sicily British constitutionalism to make way for what were in reality Napoleonic institutions.

But the fact that Sicily had enjoyed a constitutional government, that Ferdinand had for a period acquiesced in and ruled according to constitutional forms, was of the utmost importance. It prepared the minds of many of his subjects for the renewal of such conditions; it appeared to show even to the most loyal among them that there was no necessary incompatibility between the Bourbons and constitutionalism. It was not long before Ferdinand was warned that Naples was not entirely prepared to acquiesce in a retrograde policy and in a return to the past.

The premonitory symptoms of the approaching storm came from the usually dormant provinces of the Adriatic. The outbreak of disorder that had marked the Bourbon restoration was largely caused by the number of disbanded soldiers who had, after Tolentino, returned to their normal vocation of brigandage. From many parts of the provinces reports came to the Ministry of the Interior of a rising tide of robbery and violence. Nowhere did this attain greater intensity and assume a better defined form than in the province of Puglia. The disorder was many-sided, and every sort of malefactor flourished, from the mere commonplace assassin committing a wayside crime for motives of greed or revenge, to such accomplished and pretentious criminals as the priest Annichiarico. Between these extremes the gradations were numerous; in them a middle station may be said to have been occupied

by the Vardarelli brothers, whose exploits have been more vaunted than they deserved.

The head of this famous association, Gaetano Vardarelli, was a Carbonaro; he viewed assassination as an unpleasant necessity to be avoided, if possible, and only occasionally indulged in; by his skill and courage he achieved great reputation. In September 1816 he actually defeated a considerable body of Government troops in the mountain passes near Avellino; later he rendered the neighbourhood of Salerno unsafe. Finally the Government, in despair of catching him, came to a composition whereby Vardarelli, his brothers, and his followers were engaged for a considerable honorarium to enter the service of the State. Having as a result of this pact succeeded in getting a little closer to these brigands than had hitherto been the case, the Government took an early opportunity of trapping its new officials, and the five brothers, with many of their followers, were treacherously shot down.

The scene of the Vardarellis' exploits was the province of Principato. But Puglia was in an even worse condition, for there a widely extended movement threatened the very existence of the Government, and it became necessary to send to that quarter an officer of energy and ability capable of dealing with the most serious difficulties. For this task Ferdinand's Ministers judiciously selected an Englishman, General Church. He had served for some years in southern Italy, under Stuart at Maida, with the Corsican Rangers under Lowe when Lamarque took Capri, on Bianchi's staff at Tolentino, and since as a Major-General in the Neapolitan service. He understood the Neapolitans perfectly, and fully redeemed the trust Ferdinand reposed in him when he gave him full power to make any use of the

royal authority he might find necessary for restoring order in Puglia.

Brigandage and crime had, in this province, invaded and taken possession of the secret societies. Two large associations already existed in Puglia before Murat's fall, the Filadelfi and the Patriotti Europei. The latter were formed in the year 1814, the former perhaps a little later. Both of these societies had a military organization; their rites had been introduced from northern Italy, and there was said to be an affiliation connecting them with a society known as the Grande Repubblica Europea, whose headquarters were at Paris. Canosa's vigorous propaganda in favour of the Calderari alarmed these societies, and they appear to have decided to extend their numbers as a means of retaining their influence. All sorts and conditions of men were admitted, and with disastrous effects.

Towards the end of 1816 the Patriotti Europei and the Filadelfi embarked on a policy of levying contributions of money from the inhabitants of southern Puglia, enforcing their demands by terrorism. Fear induced many new members to join, and in the early part of 1817 they numbered 30,000 or 40,000. It was at about this time (October 1817) that a new society, the Decisi, was formed by Ciro Annichiarico, and, outstripping the other two societies in violence, quickly took the lead in the movement.

Annichiarico was a priest, a leader of the *masse* in 1799; imprisoned four years for murder at Lecce, he had on his release taken to a career of crime. When asked on his trial how many lives he had taken, he characteristically answered: "E chi lo lo sa? Saranno tra sessanta e settanta."[1] He had been a member of the

[1] "Who can tell? Some sixty or seventy."—Bertholdi, 121.

Patriotti Europei since 1815, but on his forming the Decisi two years later his unrivalled experience of seventeen years of crime at once attracted a large and congenial following; in January 1818 he had no less than 20,000 followers.

The rites and ceremonies of the Decisi may be best described as perverted Carbonarism of a crudely criminal variety. Among their chief and most prominent officials they suggestively included a Registrar of deaths and a Director of funeral ceremonies. Their diplomas were profusely ornamented with skulls and crossbones, and displayed at the four corners the appropriate and lugubrious words: *Tristezza*, — *Morte*, — *Terrore*, — *Lutto*.[1] The diploma called on all members of "philanthropic" societies on the face of the earth to give assistance to the bearer, who was described as one anxious to conquer liberty or death.

The foregoing facts as to the Decisi will doubtless suffice to enlighten the reader as to their character. The society was indeed, as Church reported to the Government, frightful and unparalleled; its crimes were appalling. The danger it threatened was the greater as political doctrines and ambitions were loosely bound up in the movement, and at the same time a famine, that frequent precursor of revolution, was causing much suffering in Puglia. Through the whole province, in the cities of Taranto, Otranto, Brindisi, Bari, and Lecce, the terrorism and control of the societies was complete. At dusk peaceful inhabitants securely closed up their houses, and while the brotherhoods held their meetings they were protected by armed guards who patrolled the streets. Fortunate it was that among them were no men fitted to act as

[1] Sorrow, death, terror, mourning.

leaders, to organize revolution, and to lift the whole movement from a plane of criminal to one of political disorder.

In the town of Lecce, where the mercurial temperament of the inhabitants and the general revolutionary mania were at their worst, there were not less than twenty-five assassinations a week. Every month the list of homicides grew to more terrible proportions, and, encouraged by impunity, other crimes became equally prevalent. Troops of men masked and disguised in Pulcinella costume wandered through the country in broad daylight, thieving, destroying, outraging women. The Governor of Lecce was fired at point-blank as he left the theatre one evening. Not only was money extorted, but persons were compelled under threats to sign contracts assigning away land and property. The clergy took a large share in the disorders, and when the Bishopric of Lecce became vacant, two good and honourable ecclesiastics of the province to whom it was offered declined to accept such a responsibility.

When Church arrived in Puglia matters were coming to a crisis. Annichiarico, affiliated to every society and head of the most dangerous of them, was beginning to assume a political rôle, and was openly tending to republicanism and revolt. To capture him was the first necessity of the situation; but to accomplish this was a task of immense difficulty because of his desperate following and resourcefulness.

In his task of striking down the head of the anarchy of Puglia, Church fortunately commanded the services of a small body of police and military recruited from outside Naples, and largely from Germany; without their efficient support he could not have succeeded. He quickly got to work, and at first the

Decisi attempted to meet him in open warfare. Several regular engagements were fought in the neighbourhood of Francavilla, in which the band of brigands was broken up. Annichiarico was soon reduced to a few personal followers and became a hunted outlaw. At last, on the 8th of February 1818, after a single-handed defence of some hours in a stone barn, Ciro Annichiarico was captured. He was immediately conveyed to Francavilla, tried by court-martial, and condemned to death. On his way to the public square where the execution was to take place, through a throng of spectators, and surrounded by a large body of troops, he continually turned to the onlookers, gesticulating wildly, desperately repeating all the secret society signs in his knowledge, but all in vain. If there were Patriotti Europei, or Filadelfi, or Decisi present, they did not respond to the mute appeals of their chief. The power of the secret society spells was for the moment broken.

Annichiarico's execution was vigorously followed up. By the end of July, Church had caused some sixty heads to be exposed in various places in the province, and was able to report to the Government that the reign of the secret societies in Puglia was over. He now asked the Ministry to proclaim an amnesty as the best means of securing a complete pacification. This was accordingly done on the 20th of September 1818.

Church had undoubtedly restored order in Puglia, had destroyed the Decisi, the Filadelfi, and the Patriotti Europei, but there was one thing he could not accomplish, he could not change the character of the people. Conditions were infinitely better, but the ingrained propensity remained, and less than two years later, under a new set of conditions, Puglia once more fell into the

hands of a secret society, though not under the rule of the ruffians of the Decisi. But before we come to that new set of conditions certain minor events that mark this period of the reign of Ferdinand must be chronicled in their due order.

Among the Napoleonic improvements in methods of administration that the government of King Ferdinand had eagerly adopted was that ruling the relations of State and Church. The suppression of the monastic orders, the confiscation of their property and its conversion to the purposes of the State, the subordination of priests and bishops to the civil power, the abolition of clerical privileges and ecclesiastical courts, were too conformable to the necessities of a centralized system of government to be lightly abandoned. The Papal Court attempted in vain to reassert its ancient rights. Cardinal Consalvi, Secretary of State, began, as is usual in such negotiations, by asking for more than he expected to get, and called on the Neapolitan Government to resume payment of the *chinea*. This was an annual gift of a richly harnessed white horse and seven thousand ducats that the Pope received as a token of feudal superiority, and that had been discontinued in 1776. The Papal Government not only failed to obtain the resumption of the *chinea*, but, after protracted negotiations between Consalvi and Medici, had to rest satisfied with a treaty that left the Papacy in a very different position from that which it occupied before the Revolution.

This concordat was on the general lines of Napoleonic policy. It restored, however, a few privileges to the Church: it enacted that the Catholic Faith should be the sole recognised religion of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; that all confiscated and unalienated ecclesi-

astical property should be restored; that the suppressed Orders should as far as possible be reinstated; that ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be exercised in matters matrimonial and over clerics in matters canonical; that printed matter found contrary to religion or morals by the Church should be suppressed by the Government.

This concordat was far from satisfying the aspirations of the clerical party, and they were for a time inclined to join forces with a Court faction that hoped for the early succession of the Duke of Calabria to the throne. Many members of the aristocracy who had followed the fortunes of Ferdinand during the French occupation were dissatisfied at not being reinstated in their family estates, and a severe illness of the aged King in the course of 1818 raised their expectations high. The position of the Hereditary Prince was the more important in the State in that he had for some years exercised the regency during Bentinck's rule in Sicily. The marriage of his daughter, Princess Carolina Ferdinanda, with the Duc de Berry in 1816, also served to strengthen his influence. But the King's illness passed off, and although there was considerable ill-feeling between the Duchess of Calabria and the Duchess of Floridia, these bickerings did not portend anything of very great significance. For the unanimous judgment of contemporaries appears to have been that the two really momentous events of the period were the burning of the San Carlo Theatre and the disappearance of King Ferdinand's queue. The historian's clear duty is to follow the chief currents of thought of the age he deals with, even should they, as in the present case, lead him to the footlights and to the barber's shop; we must therefore approach these matters with due inquisitiveness.

The opera house of San Carlo adjoined the Royal

Palace, as it still does; it had been erected by Charles III. in 1737, was one of the finest in Europe, the pride and social centre of Naples. Shortly after Ferdinand's return it was destroyed by fire. Early in 1816 the rebuilding was begun, and was carried through in less than a year. The new San Carlo was completed in January 1817, and in its rebuilt form was the largest and most handsome opera house in Italy. On the 13th of the same month a gala performance was attended by the King, who was received with a great outburst of enthusiasm. Henri Beyle was then travelling in Naples; he was present, and noted :—

> This theatre, rebuilt in three hundred days, is a great political stroke (*est un coup d'état*). It has won the loyalty of the people more than the best of laws would have. Naples is raving with patriotism.[1]

It was a far more easy matter for Ferdinand to order the reconstruction of the San Carlo than to permit the cutting of his hair. The great political significance attaching to the queue has received proper attention in the early pages of this work. Even after the fall of the Empire tonsorial fashions retained some measure of importance, and if *le Père la Violette* was the name under which the old soldiers generally spoke of the proscribed dweller at Saint Helena, he was also frequently alluded to as *le petit tondu*. Yet fashion is the most powerful enemy of prejudice, and the Duchess of Floridia conquered political bias. One day Ferdinand astonished the Court and the city by making his appearance shorn of his queue. This revolutionary step caused the greatest ferment, but when it was realized that Ferdinand hunted, and joked, and ate macaroni, and talked good Neapolitan, just as he formerly had,

[1] Beyle, *Rome, Naples, et Florence*, 60.

and showed no further symptoms of Jacobinism or insanity, alarm changed to imitation, and the *fedeloni*, who still clung to the ancient fashion, made haste to follow their master's example. In a few days queues had disappeared from Naples, never, let us hope, to return.

Ferdinand was indeed the same ; he had not changed. Early in January his brother, the ex-King of Spain, Charles IV., then visiting him at Naples, died. The King sent the Hereditary Prince to attend the obsequies, while he himself displayed his grief by enjoying a good day's hunting.

It appeared as though the affairs of the kingdom of Naples might go on after this fashion for an indefinite period. When the year 1820 opened there had not been since the restoration one capital condemnation for political opinions. So serene was the political horizon that when in January the Countess of Lipona applied to Metternich for permission to leave Trieste and to visit Rome, Ferdinand, on being consulted, replied to the Austrian Government's query that he had not the least objection to offer. A little later the British Minister wrote in the following strain on the state of affairs in the kingdom to the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh :—

> The quiet and prosperous state of these kingdoms affords but few subjects worthy of being brought under your Lordship's notice.[1]

But two weeks later à Court slightly qualified this opinion, and, adverting to the old liberals and Muratists, he wrote :—

> The more moderate men of this party are ready enough to

[1] à Court to Castlereagh, March 13, 1820, *For. Off. Sicily*, 90.

admit the prosperous state of the country, the wisdom and liberality of the views by which this Government is directed, and that the degree of liberty they at present enjoy is infinitely greater than any remembered in these kingdoms; but they ask, and with some plausibility, by what institutions these advantages are secured, and whether all does not depend upon the personal character of the sovereign, or even the continuance in office of one highly gifted and distinguished Minister.[1]

In the sentiment thus described, and in other causes that must now be examined, lay the germs of one of the most complete and extraordinary revolutions of modern European history.

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[1] à Court to Castlereagh, March 31, 1820, *For. Off. Sicily*, 90.

CHAPTER IV

THE REVOLUTION OF 1820

Failure of harvests — Taxation — Landed proprietors and Constitutionalism — Army dissatisfaction — Visit of Francis and Metternich — Pepe's plot — Camp of Sessa — Metternich's apprehensions—Congress of Aix—Secret societies—Kotzebue's murder — Russian policy — Spanish revolution — Spain and Naples—Position of the Carbonari—Pepe at Avellino—Propaganda at Salerno — Minichini — Carbonaro numbers — Ferdinand takes oath to Spanish Constitution — Consequent agitation—Plot of De Conciliis—Borbone Cavalleria—Rising at Nola — Insurgents reach Monteforte — News at Naples — Carascosa takes command — His proceedings — De Conciliis takes lead at Avellino — Carascosa negotiates — Nunziante's efforts—Advises Constitution—Desertion—Pepe leaves Naples —Carbonaro deputation to Ferdinand—Constitution granted —New ministry — Carbonaro proclamation — Demand for Spanish Constitution—Granted—Alarm at Naples—Entry of Carbonari—Pepe sees Ferdinand—Orderly behaviour of Carbonari—Pepe commander-in-chief—His position—Minichini—Real causes of revolution—Zurlo and the Ministry—Carbonaro hostility — Great extension of Carbonari — Ferdinand swears constitution—Lazzaroni hold aloof—Ferdinand's policy—Plot against King — Freedom of the Press — Rossetti — Attacks on Zurlo—Troja and the Minerva—Borrelli maintains order—Mutiny of Farnese regiment—*Guardia di sicurezza*—Elections and their results—Inauguration of Parliament—Constitutional amendment promised.

THERE is no cause of political dissatisfaction more active than material discomfort, nor of revolution

than scarcity of food. These factors were to be found existing in the kingdom of Naples in the year 1820. The harvest of 1816 had been a bad one, and unfortunately was followed by others equally bad for three successive years. The price of grain rose to ten ducats per 100 lbs., and famine, mortality, and pestilence ensued.

The distress among the farming and landholding classes, especially in that new and most important one of the small peasant proprietors, was aggravated by the fact that the *fondiaria* bore disproportionately heavily under these circumstances. On the return of Ferdinand this consolidated property tax had been fixed for forty years at a low valuation, in the hope that the small landowners might thereby be encouraged to effect improvements on their property. But Medici's policy, which might under favourable circumstances have proved successful, had not made provision for a series of bad harvests. Unfortunately, such a policy once embarked on could hardly be departed from. In any event, a remission of taxation would have been a difficult matter to compass, and one that there was but little inclination for in high quarters, as there were few officials who did not increase their private revenue out of that of the State.

Among landed proprietors the desire for a constitutional form of government was widespread, but it may be suspected that any other political panacea involving agricultural prosperity would have equally well satisfied their reforming aspirations. Akin to this current of opinion was another that was perhaps better founded and denoted real political progress. This was a sentiment in favour of decentralized autonomy for both Università and Provinces. This may be traced

in the curiously decentralized organization of the Carbonari themselves, and in some of the pamphlets of the period, especially in the notable *Voti dei Calabresi*.[1] As a partial sop to liberal aspirations, Medici, who from the first declined to take the symptoms of agitation very seriously, decreed that the Provincial Councils should send sixty elected members to the Court of Chancery, the successor of Murat's Council of State.

The most dangerous seat of dissatisfaction, however, was not so much the class of landed proprietors as the army. On the surface it appeared orderly, well fed, well clothed, duly paid, and both Ferdinand and Count Nugent were firmly convinced that it could be absolutely relied on. But there were causes at work that they did not make sufficient allowance for. The glut of officers and consequent lack of promotion had had a demoralizing effect, especially among the lieutenants and sergeants, for whom the career of arms, so full of reward and promise but a few years before, was now one of mere drudgery and stagnation. The lower ranks were full of a class of men readily susceptible to disaffection and by temperament rebellious to discipline. The higher posts were still occupied by those generals who had, while in the service of Joachim, intrigued with Bentinck and threatened to march on Naples.

One of these generals, Guglielmo Pepe, has recorded, but how truly it is difficult to say, that in 1819, when the Emperor of Austria and Prince Metternich visited Naples, he formed a plot for their abduction. Pepe was to command a review of 5000 men at Avellino in honour of the Austrian Emperor. The soldiers were

[1] B. Z., *Voti dei Calabresi*.

all members of the provincial militia, of which each battalion was now duly equipped with a Carbonaro lodge. It was through this organization that Pepe intended to act, his design being to hold his captives to ransom at the price of a constitution for the kingdom of Naples.[1]

This nebulous scheme of Pepe may have had no other existence than in the author's imagination; at all events it came to nothing; but a year later an incident of the same character had more tangible consequences. In the month of April 1820 the King decided to review a force of 12,000 men of the regular army collected in camp at Sessa. Ferdinand's stay in the camp and the review passed off satisfactorily. The troops showed to advantage; well-concerted "Vivas" were shouted with due vocal effort; professions of loyalty and military pomp veiled dangers that were not superficial. Beneath this screen of devotion a plot was hatched to seize the King's person, but was foiled through a warning given to the Duke of Ascoli, a natural son of Ferdinand, by one of the generals. More lasting in its effect, though less immediate in its danger, was the propaganda that the assembling of so large a body of troops from various parts of the kingdom enabled the Carbonari to make. This propaganda was of the utmost consequence in the events that shortly followed.

The confidence of Ferdinand, of à Court, of Medici, of Nugent, in the stability of the Neapolitan government was not shared by the ablest of European statesmen, Prince Metternich. The full significance of the movement that had driven Louis XVIII. from France in 1814 had not escaped him, and he had probably

[1] Pepe, *Mems.* ii. 182; this extraordinary story is entirely unconfirmed.

grasped more correctly than any other of the statesmen of Europe the fact that liberalism rather than Napoleonism was to be feared. While Pozzo di Borgo and other diplomats still gave undivided attention to the prisoner of St. Helena and the dangers of a Bonapartist reaction, Metternich with keen, prophetic insight narrowly watched the agitations of liberalism. A congress was called together at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 for the specific purpose of arranging the withdrawal of the army of the Allied Powers still in occupation of parts of France; there the general state of European affairs was discussed, the growing power of liberalism was recognised, the influence of Metternich was strengthened, and the policy of the Holy Alliance showed its first signs of coming into militant collision with the political aspirations of the Continent.

Metternich was already anxious about the progress of the secret societies. In the Papal States the Guelfs and the Carbonari had shown much activity, especially on the eastern slope of the Apennines. At Macerata a considerable conspiracy aiming at revolution was discovered only just in time to avert an open insurrection. In northern Italy, where the interest of Austria was more immediate, the movement was equally pronounced. It appeared more threatening from the support of a literary and intellectual circle that took an international character from its connection with such distinguished travellers as Lord Byron, Madame de Staël, Brougham, Hobhouse, and others. In France a new Charbonnerie had been formed, introduced from Italy, and liberal agitation was throbbing through every vein of the peninsula and central Europe, from Naples to Rome, from Rome to Milan, to Turin, to Paris, from Paris to the heart of Germany.

Shortly after the Congress of Aix a dramatic incident startled the statesmen of the Holy Alliance. The German publicist Kotzebue, a talented but mercenary writer whose services had been employed in defence of the cause of autocracy, was assassinated by a student of the University of Jena named Sand (Mar. 23, 1819). Kotzebue had attacked the Burschenschaft, a patriotic association of students of which Sand was a member, as a hotbed of revolutionary ideas, and this violent stroke of retribution created nothing less than a sensation throughout Europe.

Although the Czar Alexander had employed Kotzebue and was shocked by his assassination, he had by no means yet abandoned the liberalizing tendencies he had once so plainly shown. This was most plainly revealed in Italy, where Russian agents and diplomats went so far as to affect an anti-Austrian policy, and one favourable to Italian national aspirations. This attitude was partly a result of the ill-disguised hostility that had long continued between the two great empires of the north-east, and that had only been suppressed by the paramount fear of Napoleon. That hostility had been on the point of breaking out into flame at the Congress of Vienna, and ever since that time the personal antipathy of Pozzo di Borgo and Metternich had not served to make the relations of the two empires more cordial. Just as Murat's incursion into northern Italy would have proved of service to the Czar had war broken out while Napoleon was still at Elba, so now the threat of an Italian liberal insurrection might prove a convenient means of pressure to use against Austria. On hearing of Kotzebue's assassination, Metternich wrote to Gentz: "While in Germany Russian agents *propter obscurationem* are murdered, in Italy the Russian

agents preside over the clubs of the Carbonari. This abomination will soon be checked";[1] and in the same month to another correspondent: "I assure you that the world was in perfect health in 1789, in comparison with what it is now."[2]

The assassination of Kotzebue was the premonitory warning of the storm that was about to sweep over southern Europe. On the 1st of January 1820 a military revolt broke out in Spain that resulted in the re-establishment of the constitution which the Giunta of 1812 had adopted. This proved the beginning of a liberal revolt which, had it extended to France, as it so nearly did, might have firmly established more advanced forms of government in the whole of south-western Europe.

The Spanish movement, like Napoleon's descent from Elba five years before, immediately brought the north-eastern Powers into harmony; Russia forgot her animosities and threw herself into the arms of Metternich.[3] It also exercised great and immediate influence on the affairs of Naples.

Between Spain and Naples there was much sympathy and communication. For a considerable period the two kingdoms had formed part of one great monarchy; Ferdinand's father had passed from the throne of Naples to that of Spain, his nephew now held its crown, he himself was an Infant, and it was possible that family necessities and arrangements might once more unite the two thrones. In Naples many families were Spanish; grandees like the Duke of Infantado were numerous among the influential landowners;

[1] Metternich, *Mems.* iii. 261, Ap. 9, 1819. [2] *Ibid.* iii. 224.

[3] Nesselrode's circular note of January; cf. also à Court to Castlereagh, Ap. 6, 1820, *For. Off. Sicily*, 90.

Spanish customs and traditions still recalled the days of Don Pedro of Toledo and the Viceroys. The Neapolitan soldiers fighting under Napoleon's colours in Spain had more than once shown that their sympathies were far more with their Spanish enemies than with their French comrades, and now they rapidly and not unnaturally became infected with the example set by Riego and his mutinous followers. The regimental lodges quickly absorbed the Spanish seed of sedition. At the close of 1819 it appears probable that the Carbonari had, on the whole, lost in numbers and influence; but in the early months of 1820 their membership increased once more, and taking heart from Riego's example, they made great efforts to secure control of the army.

Much of the hold that the Carbonari had on the army was attributable to that restless spirit Guglielmo Pepe. Since the close of the year 1818 he had been military governor of Principato, with headquarters at Avellino. This was the district in which the Vardarelli had flourished, and brigandage had not come to an end with them. So bold were the brigands, or so spiritless the troops, that no less than 1000 men were employed to escort the mails through the pass of Monteforte, while at the time when Pepe took up his command some 2000 warrants of arrest remained unexecuted.

To control the disorder Pepe adopted the system constantly used under the French rule, that of utilizing the provincial militia. He called up some 10,000 of these from the landowning class; he appointed as their commander an active Carbonaro, the Marchese De Rosa; he took care that every officer should be affiliated, and while for the moment employing them against the

brigands, foresaw their political utility "when the time should come to act."[1]

Alongside of the propaganda thus carried on through the militia was that in the towns. At Potenza, one of the most active centres, public functionaries, landowners, workmen, and priests formed the local vendita, the latter taking a specially prominent part. At the time of the Macerata conspiracy in the Papal States there had been considerable excitement among the Carbonari of Salerno. The vendita of that city had by the energy of its members virtually assumed leadership of many less important provincial lodges. The Grand Master, Macchiaroli, together with Gagliardi, General Arcovito, and others, plotted a constitutional rising which the failure of the Roman Carbonari caused to be deferred. Salerno continued to be the most active centre of conspiracy in the provinces, and was known to be so in official circles before the revolution broke out.

At Salerno a priest named Guida was among the most prominent leaders. At Benevento no less than thirty priests were numbered among the Good Cousins, and at the little town of Nola, equidistant from Naples, Salerno, and Avellino, another, named Minichini, held the position of Grand Master. Minichini was a man of some ability, a great traveller, with relations in liberal quarters all over the world, and was destined soon to play a conspicuous part.

The statistics of the Carbonaro propaganda are very difficult to establish. At the beginning of 1820 there may have been between 50,000 and 100,000 enrolled

[1] Pepe, *Mems.* ii. *passim*. It is impossible to check Pepe's account; there is undoubtedly a good deal of exaggeration in his statements as to the importance of the rôle he played.

members. From March to July 1820 the increase was very great, though 600,000, the figure generally accepted just before the revolution, would appear far too large even for the end of July when the society was triumphant; it is difficult to believe that the Carbonari numbered 600,000 at the end of June, but it may be that they numbered 300,000 or more by the end of July.[1]

The sensation produced in Naples by the proclamation of the Constitution in Spain was very great. This was heightened by a curious consequence which it entailed. Ferdinand, so as to preserve intact his rights as an Infant of Spain and his reversion to the crown of his nephew Ferdinand VII., took an oath to maintain the new-made Constitution. With an impressionable and imitative people like that of Naples this served to create widespread expectation. Anonymous letters now began to pour in on the King and Ministers, calling on them to grant a constitution, and the Carbonari of Salerno repeatedly urged Pepe to lead a movement with that object.

Faced by this threatening situation, the Government at first showed some signs of vigour, and a number of the secret society men were arrested. Pepe showed more prudence than inclination to play the part of Riego, but another officer, Colonel De Conciliis, chief of staff of the 3rd division under Carascosa and a prominent Carbonaro, placed himself at the head of a military plot. The conspirators decided to raise the standard of revolt on the 29th of May, but before making his final dispositions De Conciliis had an

[1] 600,000 represents about two-thirds of the adult male population. See Cantù, *Cronistoria*, ii. 150; Colletta, *Amico della Costituzione*, quot. by Bertholdi, *op. cit.* 83; Nunziante's estimate, *ibid.* 69; Carascosa, *Mems.* 23; Pepe, *Mems.* ii. 27, 29; à Court to Castlereagh, Aug. 24, 1820, *For. Off. Sicily*, 90.

interview with his commander. He appears to have based his hopes on the fact that a successful revolution would be undisturbed by foreign intervention, but on Carascosa strongly insisting that such intervention was inevitable and dissuading him from the enterprise, De Conciliis seems to have lost heart and adjourned the rising.

It was from neither Avellino nor Salerno that the revolution was to spring, it was by neither General Pepe nor Colonel De Conciliis that it was to be originated; an obscure town was to give it birth, an obscure priest was to guide its first steps. Towards the end of June the Government, notwithstanding its extraordinary supineness and ignorance, effected a number of arrests at Salerno, and this caused alarm to some officers of the regiment of *Borbone Cavalleria* stationed at Nola. This regiment was one of the worst disciplined in the army. Its colonel was a Sicilian nobleman who appeared more at Court than in barracks. The men were not even wholly in uniform and were ignorant of all manœuvring. The junior officers paid little attention to drill but spent most of their time in the town, and had come wholly under the influence of Minichini, Grand Master of the Carbonaro vendita of Nola. At the end of June the state of the regiment was so bad that a new colonel, the Duke of Lavrieno, was appointed to tighten its relaxed discipline. This hastened the explosion.

Morelli and Silvati, two lieutenants of *Borbone Cavalleria*, concerted measures with Minichini, and at midnight on the 1st of July the latter, followed by some twenty armed Carbonari, proceeded to the barracks of the regiment. Morelli and Silvati ordered their men to muster in the courtyard, Minichini was

supplied with a horse, and the party made their way out, and took the road to Avellino. They numbered in all 127 cavalrymen and 20 civilians. The sergeants and troopers who had been persuaded into following Silvati and Morelli were only a part of the regiment; many of them, in fact, were not aware of the nature of the demonstration in which they were taking part. In the early morning, when their departure became known, a loyal officer of the regiment, Captain Carriero, rode after the deserters and caught them up on the Avellino road. Morelli, fearing lest his men might be turned away by Carriero, rode back and greeted him with the shout of "Viva la Costituzione." This was echoed from the ranks, whence a banner was displayed showing the red, black, and blue of the Carbonari. Carriero thereupon determined to turn back to Nola, and the Duke of Lavrieno immediately dispatched him thence with the news to Naples.

From Nola to Avellino is but thirteen miles, and between them lies the lofty pass of Monteforte. Avellino shut its gates to Minichini and his little party, so they decided to take up their position at the top of the pass between Mercogliano and Monteforte, near the spot where Fra Diavolo had been captured fifteen years earlier, and where more recently the Vardarelli had committed many of their exploits. Thence they sent a message to De Conciliis urging him to join them. That night the insurgents numbered 350 men; they had already begun to cut abatis and build intrenchments; their position was strong, and so lofty that from it the eye could range from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean.

Meanwhile Carriero had spurred on his errand to Naples, and by 10 o'clock in the morning of the 2nd

of July the Ministry was aware of what had occurred at Nola in the night. Delay ensued, as it so happened that the King had just gone on board ship to meet the Hereditary Prince, who was arriving from Palermo; but at twelve a council was called, to which several of the generals then in Naples were summoned, among them Nugent, D' Ambrosio, Filangieri, and Carascosa. While Ferdinand, in high spirits, was greeting the Duke of Calabria in the bay, at Naples hesitation prevailed. At first it was decided to send Pepe to repress the trouble, but later in the day, owing to the King's well-founded suspicions of this general, Carascosa was appointed instead, and Pepe was ordered to Calabria.[1]

Instead of acting at once before the movement had acquired momentum, Carascosa appears to have allowed the afternoon of the 2nd to slip away without doing anything. As he could dispose of a body of the Royal Guards, not numerous but fairly good troops, and as Monteforte was less than twenty-five miles from Naples, he might have done much towards suppressing the rebellion that very evening. As it was, it became necessary on the following morning for Nugent to give him specific orders to march on Avellino, as he showed little inclination to leave Naples.

Carascosa accordingly, on the 3rd of July, got various detachments in motion and rode out with his staff and an escort towards the mountains. He found the road deserted, the insurgents having blocked all traffic at Monteforte, and so he turned back from the foot of the pass and rode back as far as Nola.

[1] *Arch. Nap.* cxlvi. 9, 4749, Nugent MS.; Carascosa, *Mems.* 38-40. Carascosa's statement as to Pepe's appointment is contradicted by the official dispatch here referred to.—Pepe, *Relation, Pamphleteer*, xxiii. 345; see also Craven, 430.

There he spent the rest of the afternoon and evening in writing no less than five reports to Nugent, which, as he had seen nothing, would appear to demonstrate his resourcefulness if not his intrepidity. Although he had ready at hand 600 men of the infantry of the Guard, largely foreigners, with two field-pieces, and might with energy have had a much larger force assembled before Monteforte by noon, yet he stuck as resolutely to his pen as his sword did to its scabbard.

The insurgents employed the same day to better advantage. On the 2nd, as we have seen, Avellino refused to open its gates to them. De Filippi, commander of the local body of militia, called his men out for active service. At first he appears to have looked on the followers of Minichini with misgiving. But he, his officers, and his men were Carbonari, and on the 3rd, seeing Minichini's numbers gradually increasing and no attempt made by the Government to repress the revolt, he ordered the gates of Avellino to be thrown open, and the Good Cousins all fraternized to shouts of "Viva la Costituzione!" Later in the same day De Conciliis arrived at Avellino, declared for the rebellion, and assumed military command. Word was at once sent out to every neighbouring village and town, and from this moment the strength of the insurgents was quickly increased by detachments of Carbonari militiamen marching in from various parts of Principato, Basilicata, and all the country lying behind Avellino.

On the 4th of July Carascosa, sagely judging that the situation was increasing in gravity, decided to have recourse to bribery, decided to add to the terrors of the soldier the wiles of the statesman. He accordingly secured the services of the police magistrate of Bajano, a village midway between Nola and Monteforte, and

sent him on a mission to the insurgent camp. This magistrate, Bianchi by name, was empowered to offer ten passports for the leaders and a sum of 8000 ducats in gold, in return for which they were to abandon the rebellion. While Carascosa made show of manœuvring the reinforcements that had now reached him in the open country between Naples and Nola, Bianchi proceeded to Avellino, where he held a conference with De Conciliis and Morelli. What passed at this interview is uncertain, but it appears that Carascosa must have informed the Government that the 8000 ducats in gold would be required, for they were duly sent to him. Whether they ever reached Avellino, or went no further than Bianchi's office at Bajano, or even than Carascosa's headquarters at Nola, remains to this day unknown to history.[1]

General Nunziante, in command at Salerno, had been making from that point efforts more zealous but no more successful than those of Carascosa. He had with him none but native troops, and they proved quite unequal to the emergency. He had, however, pushed them forward towards Avellino on the 3rd of July and issued a proclamation promising a full amnesty to all save fourteen leaders. On the following day he carried his headquarters as far as S. Severino, within a few miles of Avellino, but could get no further. His troops would not fight, the villages were all hostile, and a considerable force was now in his front. He accordingly

[1] It may, however, be added that Carascosa's accounts do not bear close investigation.—*Arch. Nap.* cxlvi. 9, 4750. There is nothing to show that Carascosa was in treasonable correspondence with the leaders, though he was afterwards convicted of high treason. It is difficult to say whether incompetence, pusillanimity, or anxiety to stand well with both sides was the most important factor in his action. The decision in favour of Major Lombardi to a certain extent covers Carascosa as well.—*Decisione nella Causa di Monteforte*, 18.

wrote a dispatch to the King in which, with courageous bluntness, he declared that the whole people were clamouring for a Constitution, that to press his soldiers to engage would end only in augmenting the forces of the rebels, that a constitution should in his opinion be given, and that delay would be fatal.

Nunziante, whose fidelity not even Ferdinand could doubt, had told the King the bare truth. Notwithstanding the conferment of extraordinary viceregal powers on Carascosa and Nunziante, these generals were now powerless to avert the success of the insurgent cause. On the 5th of July deserters became numerous in their commands, especially in that of Nunziante. From Nocera a whole regiment of his cavalry marched off to Avellino to join the insurgents. One of Carascosa's regiments on the same day was abandoned by all its superior officers and left in command of a captain.

That same night the infection reached Naples itself. Pepe, fearing arrest, or merely following the general movement, rode out of the capital followed by a few officers and by a detachment of the regiment *Regina Cavalleria*, obeying a written order of General Napoletano. He arrived at Monteforte in the early hours of the 6th of July with seventy dragoons and half a company of infantry, and the insurrection was now provided with a leader of high military rank.

Pepe's action was soon known, and greatly added to the agitation that had for some days reigned at Naples. Although the official journal informed the public that the deserters would promptly be arrested and punished, the numerous Carbonaro lodges were well informed of all that was taking place, and in the early hours of the morning, while Pepe was nearing Monteforte, they took a decisive step in his support. A deputation of Carbonari

boldly presented itself at the Royal Palace. It was immediately received by the Duke of Ascoli, and was in truth headed by his son-in-law, the Duke of Picoletti. This deputation insisted strongly on the necessity for proclaiming the Constitution without loss of time; to this view the Duke of Ascoli assented. The Ministers were all at the Palace; they agreed with the Duke of Ascoli, and urged Ferdinand to bow to the inevitable. The result of this pressure appeared a few hours later when the following proclamation was posted on the walls of Naples :—

TO THE NATION OF THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES

The general wish of the nation of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies having been expressed in favour of having a Constitutional Government, we consent of our full free will and promise to publish its bases within eight days. Until such time as the Constitution is published, the old laws will remain in vigour.

Having thus satisfied the public desire, we order that the soldiers do return to their regiments, and every man to his ordinary occupation. FERDINAND.

NAPLES, *July* 6, 1820.

At the same time that this proclamation was issued, a special council was called, to which several of the best administrators and most prominent liberals of King Joachim's time were summoned,—Zurlo, Gallo, Delfico, Winspeare. This portended a complete change of government, which was soon announced. The new Ministry was composed of Count Zurlo, Count Ricciardi, the Duke of Campochiaro, General Carascosa, and Cavaliere Macedonio, and, to make the revolution even more complete, Ferdinand announced that the Hereditary Prince was appointed Regent. The concessions of the

King caused the greatest joy, and that night the city spontaneously illuminated. The news of what was happening at Naples reached Monteforte and the camps of Carascosa and Nunziante with great rapidity, and resulted in equally enthusiastic demonstrations and cheers for the King, God, and the Constitution.

Even before Pepe joined them the Carbonaro leaders at Avellino had shown themselves capable of conducting the Constitutional movement. They issued on the 4th a proclamation in which their demands were stated, not without reason and moderation. In this manifesto they asked for the immediate proclamation of a constitution, that the existing laws should remain in force until a Parliament could be convened, that all officials should retain their posts on taking an oath to observe the Constitution, that there should be no persecution for political offences, and that the obligations of the State should remain inviolable.[1] It was doubtless this proclamation, the contents of which were known in the capital on the 5th, that had dictated Pepe's flight, the action of the Carbonaro deputation to the Palace, and the edicts with which the King had practically embodied every demand of the insurgents.

Yet Ferdinand's ready compliance and his appointment of the Hereditary Prince as Regent recalled too emphatically the King's time-serving and insincere policy when Bentinck ruled Sicily. A rising tide of success was with the Carbonari; they felt the King's weakness, their suspicions were aroused by his steps. Pepe, who had now assumed command, with Minichini, Napoletano, De Conciliis, De Filippi, and the other Carbonaro leaders, discussed the royal edicts, found them unsatisfactory, and declared that an immediate grant of a

[1] à Court to Castlereagh, July 5, 1820 (enclosure), *For. Off. Sicily*, 90.

constitution was necessary, that this constitution should be the Spanish one of 1812, to which the King had already sworn observance as an Infant of Spain, and that Pepe should retain supreme military command until a national parliament could be assembled. These demands were promptly embodied in a letter which Pepe sent in to be presented to the Hereditary Prince. The nature of the Carbonaro requirements became known throughout Naples during the night of the 6th, and it was widely feared that they presaged a stormy day to follow.

On the morning of the 7th a crowd rapidly assembled in front of the Royal Palace bent on the due accomplishment of the Carbonaro programme. Loud shouts were raised for the Spanish Constitution, and soon proved effective. An edict was posted at the palace gates that announced the immediate coming into effect of the Spanish Constitution, but instead of being signed by Ferdinand it appeared in the name of the Hereditary Prince. On this becoming known the uproar was renewed, and gradually increased in volume.

While Ferdinand resisted the entreaties of his councillors, the passions of the crowd rose to fever heat; they became a "howling mob," and the Prince, falling at his father's knees, finally extorted his reluctant signature.

This concession was now inevitable, for the time had long since passed when the Government might yet hope to control the rising. Yet a fact noted by the British Minister may serve to emphasize the weakness of Ferdinand and his advisers, for he reported to his government that "of all the grave counsellors who advised the Prince to accept the Spanish Constitution . . . there was not one who had ever read it."

The kingdom of Naples being now happily endowed with a constitution that nobody knew anything about, universal joy prevailed and the mob dispersed. The civic guards turned out in large numbers to patrol the streets and preserve order, and matters took a far more reassuring aspect, until later in the day it suddenly became known that Pepe had informed the Hereditary Prince that the Carbonari intended marching in from Monteforte to Naples. The Carbonari were no longer putting forward demands but issuing orders, and so the Hereditary Prince understood the matter. He answered that the entry might take place on the 9th, but that it should be limited to 2000 men, and that the royal colours should be displayed with those of the Carbonari.

As this new development became known, alarm once more spread through the city. The army was partly in open revolt and wholly demoralized, while rumours of the most exaggerated description magnified the public danger. It was reported that the insurgents were largely made up of peasantry that would repeat the scenes enacted by Ruffo's Calabrese in 1799. Houses were barricaded, and the Foreign Ministers took measures for their personal protection. Nugent, who was now helpless, sought refuge with Sir William à Court, the British Minister.

On the 8th of July the Carbonari, numbering some 20,000 men, descended from Monteforte into the plain. On the morning of the 9th they marched into Naples by the Avellino road, which ran into the Toledo at the Accademia, now the Museo Nazionale. All Naples was in the streets, and witnessed perhaps the strangest procession recorded in its annals. It was not 2000 men who entered the city as the Hereditary

Prince had specified, but in all some 14,000, of whom about one-half wore various regular and militia uniforms. Every window of the long, narrow Toledo was crowded with spectators, and, as if by enchantment, the red, black, and blue colours of the Carbonari, unknown a week before, were now the universal decorations. Many other strange emblems and symbols were displayed and framed with waving handkerchiefs.

The procession was headed by Morelli, Silvati, and the troopers of *Borbone Cavalleria*; the originators of the revolution were already known by no other name than that of the Sacred Squadron. Behind them came military bands, and then Pepe, followed by a number of officers; after them several bodies of troops belonging to the regular army. But most remarkable of all was the appearance of Minichini, who headed the next part of the procession. He rode a white horse and was fully armed; his clerical dress was profusely adorned with sashes and emblems, symbols of the highest grades of the Carbonari; his square, determined, but ill-favoured face wore a smile of triumph. Behind him marched the Good Cousins of Principato and Basilicata attired in their provincial garb and peaked hats, and wearing their badges and colours.

Preserving a remarkable order, this great column of men slowly made its way down the whole length of the Toledo and arrived at the Royal Palace. Here the crowd was greater than ever. Ferdinand, unwilling to participate in the events of the day, had retired to an inner part of the Palace, and declined to leave his bed; but the Hereditary Prince, together with the Duchess of Calabria and some of their attendants, took up their position on the central balcony over the principal entrance to the Palace. On the arrival of the procession

the royal party, whether as a matter of enthusiasm or of prudence, displayed their handkerchiefs, and the Duchess went so far in her zeal for the popular cause that she ostentatiously attached a red, black, and blue cockade to her husband's coat, to the great gratification of the mob.

At the Palace Pepe dismounted, and, followed by General Napoletano, Colonel De Conciliis, Minichini, and Morelli, presented himself before the Hereditary Prince. He fervently protested his loyalty to the throne and that of his followers. He had only joined the insurgents after the revolution was accomplished, he declared, and for the purpose of turning it to the King's advantage. As to the position of Commander-in-Chief which he had assumed, he was more anxious to relinquish than to retain it, and had already pledged himself that, on the assembling of the Parliament, he would resign his functions.

To this harangue of the general the Duke of Calabria replied by thanking him for his great services to the State, by confirming the position of Commander-in-Chief he had assumed, and by declaring that for himself he would defend the Constitution to the last drop of his blood. Pepe now demanded to see the King, and was conducted alone to the bed-chamber. Ferdinand was in a fever "produced by terror," as Pepe afterwards affirmed; at the foot of his bed stood the Duchess of Floridia. The King extended his hand for Pepe to kiss, which ceremony duly accomplished, the general said: "Now your Majesty reigns over the hearts of all." To this Ferdinand replied: "I hope, General, you will conduct yourself honourably." Pepe then repeated the speech with which he had previously met the Hereditary Prince, and shortly afterwards retired.[1]

[1] Pepe, *Mems.* ii. 252-257.

The rest of the day passed in perfect quiet, and the British Minister, who was far from favourable to the Constitutional movement, was able to record: ". . . not a handkerchief has been stolen, not a knife drawn in anger from the first to the last." The revolution was complete, and not a drop of blood had been spilt.[1]

Pepe was now by royal decree Commander-in-Chief of the army, as he was by public acclamation and the accidents of politics leader of the Carbonari. His sudden elevation had a double effect. The jealousy long felt against the foreign officers, and especially Nugent, was allayed by the promotion of a Neapolitan to the position so long held by a foreigner. But for this old jealousy a new one was quickly substituted, as Pepe was junior in rank to many other native officers who at once resented his being placed over their heads. He attempted to conciliate them, spoke to them with moderation, and reiterated what he had already solemnly declared, that on the assembly of the Parliament he would resign his position.

At the same time Pepe was inclined to take to himself the whole credit for the success of the movement of which circumstances had made him the head. He posed as the regenerator of his country. He made considerable show of disinterestedness by refusing a special grant of money offered him by the Government, though more than one of his contemporaries doubted whether his action was wholly prompted by public considerations.

Towards Minichini, whom many viewed as the real leader of the revolution, Pepe displayed the greatest hostility and jealousy, and it is clear that his memoirs cannot be accepted as an accurate account of

[1] à Court to Castlereagh, July 20, 1820, *For. Off. Sicily*, 90.

the part he played. To Minichini, if to any one, was clearly ascribable the inception of a movement that was helped in varying degrees by the late assistance of Pepe and Napoletano, by the incompetence or sympathy of Carascosa, by the cowardice of the Government, and by the indiscipline of the army. The official verdict that the revolution was the result of a plot of which Carascosa, Pepe, and Napoletano were the leaders cannot be accepted, for many causes of the outbreak are to be traced in the earliest chapters of this work, and when the real share in the proceedings at Monteforte of these three generals is considered, it can only be concluded that their action may have influenced but did not determine the course of the revolution.[1]

There were two tasks of supreme importance that faced the newly constituted liberal ministry; one was the preservation of order, the other the convoking of Parliament under the provisions of the Spanish Constitution.

The appointment of Zurlo and his colleagues to the places held by Medici and the Sicilian ministry lent to the revolution a Muratist complexion. This made it improbable that it could gain the King's confidence or work harmoniously with him. This impression was heightened by the fact that a Giunta of government or advisory council was created and was filled with men who had served under the French kings. The choice of Zurlo had certainly been, in one way, the best Ferdinand could make under the circumstances, for although he represented all that the King detested, yet he was the most capable administrator and man of government in the kingdom, and although a liberal,

[1] *Decisione nella Causa di Monteforte*, 20.

he was far from inclined for radical or revolutionary measures. If, under Joachim, Zurlo had been in favour of constitutionalism, now that constitutionalism had placed him in power he was most anxious by every means possible to restrain and moderate its action. Ricciardi, Zurlo's ablest supporter, even proposed to his colleagues the immediate suppression of the Carbonaro lodges, a not unstatesmanlike proposal, though probably impossible of execution.

At the outset everything appeared to facilitate the action of Zurlo's ministry: the Carbonari looked on it as likely to support liberal measures; the King as likely to maintain order and repress excesses. Its action was further facilitated by the fact that the Treasury held a large reserve in gold. Yet it was not long before it was discovered that its position was fundamentally weak.

Between the Carbonari and Zurlo's ministry there could be no real harmony. It was the secret conventicles that had made the revolution, and having attained power they had no intention of relinquishing it even in favour of the few capable and liberal administrators and statesmen of the kingdom. The Good Cousins were now supreme. Before the 6th of July they had existed in secret; a few days later they appeared to be nearly the whole nation. Instructions were issued to enrol as many new members as possible; new lodges sprang into existence like mushrooms after rain; in the city of Naples there were soon 340; on a man-of-war at Capri there were no less than three; in every regiment, in every tribunal, a vendita was formed; in western Lucania were 182; female lodges sprang up, and a vendita was formed among the prisoners at the Castle of S. Elmo in which the Governor was solemnly enrolled as an apprentice.

The vendita of Salerno, having failed to take the lead in the revolution, now endeavoured to regain it by heading a movement for organizing the Carbonari into the dominant political body of the State. It aimed at attracting the whole population to the lodges and at substituting Carbonaro administration and justice for that of the central authority, thus in fact creating a Carbonaro state. The Eastern Lucanian Republic too, one of the most powerful of the provincial organizations, appeared to threaten the establishment of an autonomous provincial Carbonaro republic. This fear was allayed by a curious pronouncement made at Potenza on the 20th of July 1820, whereby the word republic was explained away and a declaration of conformity made.

This extraordinary ideal of substituting the codes, ethics, methods, and administration of the Carbonari for those of the State did not prosper; yet for a while Naples took on every external appearance of being one great Carbonaro brotherhood. Few appeared in the streets unadorned with the red, blue, and black ribbon, while the mysterious grips and passwords, the suggestive rhetoric and catch-phrases of the society became bound up in the daily life of the people.

Perhaps the most truly beneficial effect of the new state of affairs was that public opinion suddenly found free vent and a means of expression. Results soon followed. So loud was the demand that Ferdinand should solemnly ratify the change that had been accomplished that he consented to take a solemn oath in honour of the new constitution. Accordingly on the 13th of July General Pepe and a select audience accompanied the King to the chapel of the Palace. After a short service, "the King raised his face towards heaven,

and fixing his eyes on the cross, added these words: 'Omnipotent God, who with Thine infinite powers canst read the soul of man and the future, do Thou, if I speak falsely, or intend to break my oath, in this moment direct the thunders of Thy vengeance on my head.'"[1] He then, with tears, turned to Pepe, who stood watchfully close by his side, and said: "Believe me, General, I have now sworn from the very bottom of my heart."[2]

The King was now apparently irrevocably committed to the popular cause, and gave no sign to encourage that section of the community which alone had refused to join the Carbonari. The lazzaroni and fishermen of Naples were still, as ever, in opposition to the middle class and liberalism, bound by an unalterable sympathy to Ferdinand and Bourbonism. But Ferdinand was far too timid of danger, the Hereditary Prince far too pliable and weak, to make an appeal to civil faction. The King had decided to yield whatever was demanded of him, as he had in Sicily some years before. But in his heart there could be no change. He viewed every attack on the rights his birth had given him as a crime; every concession extorted, every oath sworn, was subject to the mental reservation that it was an affair of necessity, and would last only so long as that necessity remained present.

An extreme wing of the Carbonari realized how valueless were the King's concessions. They felt that between themselves and Ferdinand, however amicable appearances might be for the moment, there must necessarily be a life-and-death struggle. If so, it was better, they thought, to make away with the King at once. A plot was consequently formed to force an entrance into the Palace and to remove Ferdinand, keeping him

[1] Colletta, *Storia*, ii. 35. [2] Pepe, *Mems.* ii. 265.

as a prisoner and hostage. This plot was discovered. Military preparations were made to protect the Palace, 3000 sandbags were filled and placed in position, a number of arrests were made, and the conspiracy came to nothing. Yet unimportant and few as were the Carbonari involved in this affair, exaggerated as doubtless were the military precautions taken, there can be no doubt that the fear of personal violence felt by the King on this occasion went far to confirm his ineradicable hatred of the movement in which he was involuntarily participating.

The most notable of the early measures adopted by the Ministry and Provisional Giunta was the declaration of the freedom of the press. The decree was issued on the 26th of July. Its immediate result was the appearance of a great number of newspapers, pamphlets, broadsides, and posters.[1] The effect of this new-born liberty, a concession as great, if not greater, than that of the Constitution, was on the whole astonishingly good, one of the most creditable things in Neapolitan history. Several of the newspapers that made their appearance were of considerable merit. The *Minerva Napolitana*, conducted by Carlo Troja, achieved a by no means unmerited reputation, and among others the *Vigilante*, *Voce del Secolo*, *Echo*, *Censore*, and *Biblioteca Costituzionale* all deserve an honourable mention. On the whole, these newspapers were remarkable for their moderation. Yet, as in all revolutions, there was an extreme group, of which the chief organ was the *Giornale degli Amici della Patria*, of which De Ritis was the editor and Gabriele Rossetti the most conspicuous contributor. Unfortunately for his talent and reputation his lyricism soon turned to

[1] See Sections II. and IV. of the Bibliography, Appendix K.

the melodramatic, and the melodramatic to violence. It was from this quarter that Zurlo and his colleagues had to meet with the strongest attacks. The opposition to this statesman was a matter of political vendetta, and was due to his having advocated the repression of the Carbonari in the year 1813. He was now accordingly attacked, not only in pamphlets, but in a complaint that was actually sent to the King by the vendita of Salerno.

The *Minerva* from the very beginning advocated a moderate and reasonable course. No sooner had the text of the Spanish Constitution been procured and published than those who were in a position to judge recognised its many defects and its inapplicability to Naples. The essential features of that Constitution may be briefly stated as follows :—

It provided for one assembly only, elected by universal suffrage, having legislative functions, the right of approving treaties, of appointing judges, and of voting taxation. The King's veto could be overridden by an affirmative vote of the Parliament given for the third time in three successive years. The general tendency of the Constitution may be said to have been to place a large part of the executive power in the hands of the Parliament, to decrease correspondingly the royal prerogatives, and, owing to the absence of an Upper House, to make probable the recurrence of direct conflicts between King and Parliament.

Troja, after attacking the Provisional Giunta, turned his attention to the Constitution, which he declared required modification. This provoked an angry outcry from the extremists, who, tied to a catchword, could see no salvation save in the Spanish Constitution pure

and simple. In the single chamber that Constitution provided for, in the permanent representation and overriding vote that destroyed the royal veto, they saw the only possible guarantees of constitutional freedom, and so they turned against the moderates with fury.

Fortunately the press was free, and these polemics found an easy vent in paper and printer's ink, so that the peace of the city was not disturbed by them. The head of police under the new government was an old Muratist functionary, Pasquale Borrelli; he carried out his duties with equal zeal, tact, and success. He was a liberal, though not affiliated with the secret societies, he was well liked by the revolutionists though a firm and capable administrator. Strong in the support of the Alta Vendita of Naples and in the confidence of the civic guard, Borrelli met the exigencies of the situation with indefatigable resource and good-humour. An eye-witness has left an amusing account of how he received the innumerable deputations from patriotic societies that waited on him with the most incongruous petitions and demands. To the "Sons of Epaminondas," the "Friends of Aristides," the "Heraclidæ," the "Society of the Blood of Christ," he presented an equally firm but amiable front. He quenched their extravagant demands with floods of appropriate eloquence, and found his way with wonderful precision to the innate docility that is so strangely allied to impetuosity in the Neapolitan character.[1]

One of the favourite police methods of those days was much facilitated by the extraordinary extension taken by the Carbonari and the wide opening of the doors of the lodges. Borrelli's secret agents were quickly introduced into the lodges, and soon possessed

[1] *Bibl. Nas. Difesa di Borrelli*; Radowsky, 151, 158.

their every secret. But those secrets were rarely worth having, for the Carbonari could no longer be called a secret society. Their statutes, their rites, their doctrines, their aspirations, their membership, all was now public and in print. Their victory had rendered secrecy both unnecessary and intolerable.

The only serious disturbance of order that took place in the early weeks of the Revolution was not attributable to any fault of Borrelli, but to the anarchical state into which the discipline of the army had been thrown. The *Farnese* regiment of infantry was placed under orders for garrison duty at Gaëta, a station that the soldiers strongly disliked. Three hundred of the men accordingly deserted with their arms. They were promptly pursued and attacked by detachments of the Guard, who demonstrated that had they been employed on the 3rd or 4th of July there would have been a quick end made of the Carbonaro revolution. There was a regular engagement beyond the Maddalena bridge, in which some sixty of the *Farnese* deserters were shot down. General Rosaroll, Governor of Capua, flogged seventeen more to death. The rest went to prison, but were soon released by the Hereditary Prince.

The mutiny of the *Farnese* regiment had created some excitement at Naples, and the central Carbonaro association, the *Maggistratura Provisoria* as it was now called, issued a proclamation calling on all Good Cousins to assist the authorities.[1] The civic guard of Naples, or *guardia di sicurezza*, a corps made up of the middle or trading class, had joined the Carbonari in a body. They were now supplied with a new uniform, green and maroon, very splendid in all respects,

[1] Proclamation of July 20. The names appended to it are: S. Preziosi, Gius de Jorio, Feb. de Floria, Modestino Bianchi, Crescenzo Gallo, and Gaetano Ricciardelli.

of which the most striking features were a very tall feather surmounting the shako, and a portentous skull and crossbones adorning the cartridge box. This Carbonaro guard, as it was soon called, supported the efforts of Borrelli. Pepe made service in it compulsory, and relates that he once found the aged Duke of Bovino, musket in hand, solemnly mounting guard decorated with the ribbon of the exalted order of San Gennaro. If an old print may be trusted, its patrols were generally commanded and led by a police officer.

In the meanwhile preparations for the elections had been rapidly pushed forward. In the provinces all was enthusiasm. There was little opposition to the national cause, though here and there a priest ventured to run counter to the current.[1] In the first week of September the elections took place. The result was considered satisfactory, even by the opponents of the revolution. Of the seventy-two deputies elected, exactly one-third were landowners, another third were lawyers and officials, and among the rest were ten clerics and five soldiers. Curiously enough, only seventeen members in all were Carbonari; among the prominent names were to be noted those of Delfico and Colletti, who had sat in the Republican Assembly of 1799, of Bausan, Cardinal Ferrao, Poerio, Begani, and Borrelli.

On the 1st of October the formal inauguration of the labours of this Assembly took place with much religious pomp and swearing of oaths at the Church of the Spirito Santo. The crowd outside was large, their cheers faint; the assemblage inside was unusually undemonstrative and silent, as Ferdinand, in full state, swore the usual facile oaths, displayed the usual facile emotions. The King's path was strewed with flowers.

[1] As at Bisceglie; *Le trame de' preti.*

Pepe played a part second only to that of the King, and with much circumstance laid down the command of the army. There were speeches as eloquent as they were empty, notably a mystic, symbolico-political address by Grand Master Galdi, president of the Assembly, and to close the day a heavy rainfall, which the lazzaroni interpreted as an unmistakable portent of the displeasure of the Almighty.

It was only after great difficulty that Ferdinand had agreed to grace this ceremony, and after Carascosa had solemnly pledged himself to obtain a modification in the Constitution whereby there should be an Upper House added to that whose labours had just opened. Yet the Constitution inaugurated by the King had been so uncompromisingly Spanish that even the hour of convocation had been fixed "alle ore dieci di Spagna," ten o'clock, Spanish time.

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CHAPTER V

THE FALL OF THE CARBONARI

Vendita della Pace — Carbonaro demands — Disorder — Parties in Parliament—Analogy with Convention—Carbonari dominate Assembly—Parliamentary eloquence—Borrelli and Poerio—Legislative trivialities—Ferdinand's alarm—Pepe's position—Carascosa — Plot to take Palace—British assistance — Ships arrive—Campochiaro asks for their withdrawal—Metternich's views — Unrest at Milan—Cariati's mission to Vienna—Czar declares for intervention—Metternich's note to German states—Austrian armaments—Campochiaro demands explanation — Metternich declines to receive Gallo — Ferdinand denounces his compulsion—Congress of Troppau—Alarm of liberals—Russian policy—Intervention and political theories—Ferdinand invited to Laybach—Position of Great Britain—Of France—Her mediation attempted—Laybach proposal before Parliament—Answer—Permission obtained for journey—Ferdinand embarks—Parting letter to Calabria—Resignation of Ministry—Zurlo—New Ministry—Church in Sicily—F. Pepe's expedition—Bad state of army—Pepe and Carascosa—Finances—Feeling at New Year—The Duke of Calabria—Constitution finished—Parliament adjourned—Ferdinand at Laybach—Decisions of Congress—Received at Naples—Communicated to Parliament — Excitement — Assassination of Giampietro—Rossetti—Reaction—Duke of Calabria's position—Military measures—Guards reviewed—Pepe in the Abruzzi—His forces—Austrian advance—Fight at Rieti—Carascosa's army disbands — Last sittings of Parliament—Capua surrendered—Fate of Silvati and Morelli—Escape of leaders—Revolution in Piedmont—Entry of Austrians into Naples.

THE Carbonari had, as we have seen, split into two factions, of which the more important might be described as moderate; yet even that moderate faction was far removed in its aims and in its political ideals from the conservative ideas of the Muratists. The central lodge of Naples, the *Vendita della Pace*, presided over by Giuliano, had been recognised as a governing body by the Vendite of the provinces, and soon assumed paramount influence. Its qualification for political leadership may be judged from the following incident.

About the end of October the Vendita, under the thin disguise of "una Società di persone affezionate alla Patria," published a pamphlet in which it was argued that the position of the Hereditary Prince as Regent was unconstitutional, that the King should resume governing, that the civic guards should replace the Royal Guard in the charge of the Palace, that military precautions should be taken, and that a body of convicts should be armed. The suggestion that the King's person should thus be handed over to the custody of an organization controlled by the Carbonari virtually meant making him a political prisoner. The proposal to condone or reward crime by drafting criminals into the army was equally extravagant and impolitic. The latter proposal was especially ill-timed, for the revolution, that had been marked by such good order at its inception, was now showing a marked tendency towards disorder. So great was the dislocation of authority, so potent the secret protection afforded by the societies to their members, that robbery, housebreaking, and violence increased and reached an alarming point in October and November. Ricciardi issued a report on the subject, and proposed exceptional measures. He was supported by the best element among the Carbonari;

the Salerno Vendita drew up a strongly worded appeal to the lodges of the Western Lucanian Republic urging them to help the Government maintain order, and by the middle of December there was a decided diminution of crime.

In the meanwhile the national Parliament had begun its labours, and quickly showed that among its members were to be found three parties. Of these the largest may be described as uncertain in its aims and actions, yielding alternately to the influence of the two parties on either side of it, the moderates on the one hand, the extremists on the other. The moderates were weak in numbers but strong in talent. They commanded in Borrelli, Delfico, Poerio, Nicolai, and Dragonetti the best intelligence of the Assembly. Their policy was one of constitutional reform,—the policy that Troja so ably supported in the *Minerva Napolitana*. Opposed to them was the Carbonaro party, whose steps and votes were controlled by the secret decisions of the Alta Vendita, and whose influence in the Assembly was commensurate with the loudly expressed approval or disapproval of the mob of Good Cousins who daily and exclusively packed the galleries of the chamber. The Carbonaro methods, in fact, were those of the Jacobin Club.

To follow the course of the debates of the Neapolitan Parliament would be to distort the proportions of the work here undertaken, and to relate much that was trivial in its effects. A few of the more momentous sessions will be dwelt on in due course, but all that now need be said was that the domination of the Carbonaro minority over the Parliament was carried to such a point as nearly to neutralize the undoubtedly good elements of the Assembly. Even the

debates of the Committees, to which the public had no access, often ended by the threatening demand of a Carbonaro member for publicity, while anonymous letters were frequently and threats of assassination occasionally resorted to. These conditions only served to accentuate what would even under normal circumstances have been the dominant note of the Parliament, declamation, empty generalizations, sentimental frothiness. Appeals to the Deity, to the great Architect of the Universe, to the sacredness of oaths, vows of admiration and eternal love for an adorable sovereign, formed an ornate but insecure basis for the discussion of vital problems of constitutionalism and politics. One member with self-complacent assurance remarked to Pepe one day, "My discourse to-morrow will produce a revolution in Europe."[1] It was not the reign of liberty that had dawned on Naples, but that of rhetoric.

Borrelli and Poerio, as debaters, rose above the average of the Assembly, though neither of them ever attained the level of statesmen. Neither could quite free himself from the narrowing trammels of a lawyer's education; yet for their eloquence, moderation, and public spirit they have deservedly won an honourable inscription on the roll of Italian patriots. To emit a reasoned and temperate opinion in the face of howling and inimical galleries was a feat that the tact, courage, and eloquence of Borrelli more than once accomplished; Poerio rivalized with him; and the two when acting together, as they often did, more than once dominated both the Parliament and the Carbonari.

From the day on which the Assembly first met, the Carbonaro section showed its blind determination to

[1] Pepe, *Mems.* iii. 94.

cling to the Spanish Constitution unmodified and at all costs. The earliest question that came up for discussion showed their feeling on this point, for on a debate as to whether the Assembly should be known as a Parliament or a Cortes, they contended at great length, though unsuccessfully, for the Spanish denomination.

Trivialities of a similar character took up a great share of the attention of the Parliament and offered excellent opportunities for the display of the forensic and rhetorical talent of its members. There was a passion for modification and novelty; the names of the provinces were all changed; a long debate turned on whether the kingdom should be known as the Regno d' Italia or the Regno d' Italia Meridionale, the latter finally being adopted; a heated discussion as to whether God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost was the legislator as well as the author of the Universe was resolved in favour of the Deity by a narrow majority; a protracted discussion as to whether the assembly was *constituted* or *constituent* consumed many hours. This last debate excited the fears of Ferdinand. So many incidents that had taken place recalled those of the French Revolution that this new step, suggestive of the famous Assembly that had preceded the one that had decreed the execution of the French monarchs, his cousin and his sister-in-law, filled him with terror.

Other circumstances tended still further to alarm the King. Pepe alone among the best-known generals had thrown in his lot unreservedly with the Carbonari. The Parliament therefore, a fortnight after his resignation of the command of the army, was prevailed on to appoint him inspector-general of the militia and of the *guardia di sicurezza* of Naples. This was virtually a

reappointment to the chief command; it also tended to accentuate the rivalry between Pepe and Carascosa, now acting as Minister of War, and so to complete the disorganization of the army.

Carascosa tried a trimming course. He attempted to satisfy both the King and the Carbonari, and failed with both. His promise to Ferdinand that the Constitution should be modified so as to provide for an Upper House could not be redeemed, and placed him badly, while the attacks made by the extremists in Parliament on the King's power of veto made him anxious for an opportunity to free himself from the trammels in which he was being bound. That opportunity could only be found in foreign aid.

The plot to attack the Royal Palace had given Ferdinand an excellent excuse for demanding foreign assistance; it may possibly have had no other significance. Be that as it may, the King immediately availed himself of such an excellent pretext. Towards the end of August secret negotiations were opened, and as a result of an interview between the Duchess of Floridia and Sir William à Court the latter requested his Government to dispatch ships to Naples for the protection of the King. To this request Lord Castlereagh assented, but with the strict proviso that the British ships were to be used only for the safeguard of the King's person, and with a strict injunction that their captains were ". . . not to interfere in any political transaction further than may be necessary for the above purposes." Corresponding instructions were sent to à Court.[1]

Accordingly, on the 6th of October, two British

[1] à Court to Castlereagh, Aug. 26, 1820, *For. Off. Sicily*, 90; Orders to Admiralty, Sept. 13, 1820, *For. Off. Sicily*, 92.

frigates, the *Active* and the *Liffey*, appeared at Naples, their arrival eliciting warm expressions of gratitude from Ferdinand. But that which was likely to gratify Ferdinand was certain to arouse the anger of the Carbonari. Protests against the presence of the British ships reached the Ministry from all quarters, and Campochiaro, promptly bowing to the storm, addressed a note to à Court requesting the withdrawal of the ships. This was merely an official demonstration, however, for unofficially the Minister for Foreign Affairs held very different language. He ". . . observed to me the day before yesterday, . . ." wrote à Court, "for Heaven's sake take no heed of the notes I am obliged to write to you about your squadron. If it leave the bay we are all lost." [1]

If this was the attitude towards Neapolitan constitutionalism of Great Britain, of the Power that eight years before had compelled Ferdinand to accept a constitution for Sicily, it will readily be imagined that that of Austria was far removed from approval. Metternich's views had become gloomier and gloomier. The assassination of the Duc de Berry, and a personal loss, that of his two daughters, in the early part of 1820, had made his mood even darker. For the Neapolitan revolution he could find nothing but fierce reprobation. At first its bloodless and moderate nature embarrassed him. "The high character of the Carbonari, the party which has led all the others, is the anxiety," he wrote.[2] This anxiety had been quickly allayed by the march of events. The Neapolitan movement had stirred the whole of the Italian peninsula. In orderly, well-administered Milan *constitution* and *insurrection* were in

[1] à Court to Castlereagh, Dec. 6, 1820, *For. Off. Sicily*, 91.
[2] Metternich, *Mems.* iii. 385, 389.

every one's mouth. In the Papal States the Carbonari were once more becoming active.

Immediately on the King's acceptance of the Constitution, Campochiaro notified the Neapolitan diplomatic agents abroad of the fact, and this he followed up by sending Prince Cariati on a special mission to Vienna. There the Neapolitan envoy met with an uncompromisingly hostile reception. Metternich refused to accept his credentials or grant him an audience, and Prince Ruffo, the resident Minister, as well as Prince Castelciccala in Paris, declined to take the oath to the Constitution. On the failure of Cariati's mission, instructions to open negotiations were sent to Ruffo, but, taking his cue from Metternich, he declined to act with the new government. Not discouraged by these rebuffs, another effort was made. The Duke of Serracapriola was sent to Vienna, bearing an autograph letter from Ferdinand to the Emperor Francis, and an announcement that Ruffo would be superseded as Minister by the Duke di Gallo; the result was no better, as the Emperor declined to reply to Ferdinand's letter.

The explanation of the Austrian attitude was furnished to the Neapolitan public when the Duke of Campochiaro, in making a statement to the Parliament as to the kingdom's foreign relations, stated that the Czar Alexander had declared to Prince Cimitile, whom he refused to receive as Minister, that the affairs of Naples required the intervention of the "chefs de l'ordre Européen."[1] It was plain, indeed, that the whole weight of Europe was against Naples, for only Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, and Holland recognised the new Government, and it was clear that the Holy Alliance was preparing to act.

[1] *Brit. State Papers*, 1820-1821, 1144; *Diario del Parlamento.*

Metternich's first active step was not long delayed. Less than three weeks from the proclamation of the Constitution at Naples, on the 25th of July, he addressed a circular note to the States of the German Empire. In this he lamented the revolution, which he said constituted a danger to Europe, he offered Austria's protection to the Italian princes, and invited the Powers to concert measures for the protection of their imperilled interests. At the same time diplomatic overtures were made to secure the free passage of Austrian troops through Papal territory, extended powers were given to the Archduke Ranier, Viceroy of the Lombard-Venetian provinces, and reinforcements of 50,000 men were placed under orders for Italy.

The preparations of Metternich, and the eagerness with which he pressed Cardinal Consalvi for military facilities which the Pope appeared in no hurry to grant, caused much anxiety at Naples. The general feeling among cool and competent judges was that under the existing circumstances effective military opposition to the Austrians was impossible, and diplomacy alone appeared of any avail to avert the threatened intervention. On the 1st of October, accordingly, Campochiaro addressed a lengthy note to the Austrian Government. In this he attempted to justify the Neapolitan position; he argued that the secret article of the treaty of 1815[1] whereby Ferdinand had pledged himself to resist the introduction of liberal institutions was only intended to cover the period of restoration and had now lost its application. He finished by demanding categorical explanations as to the Austrian armaments. This was mere diplomatic trifling, and it will not be doing the Duke of Campochiaro an injustice to say that the

[1] See *ante*, p. 14.

sincerity of this demand was no greater than that of the one he had made of Sir William à Court for the withdrawal of the British vessels from the Bay of Naples.

Campochiaro's note was not received, nor was his new envoy. In pursuance of the announcement made by the Duke of Serracapriola, Gallo had left Naples for Vienna to supersede Ruffo late in August. On arriving at Klagenfurt in the Austrian Tyrol, however, his journey was arrested by an order from Vienna, Metternich declaring that he could hold no communication with the representative of a revolutionary government.

Ferdinand was now doubly alarmed; not only had his own subjects turned against him, but the absolute silence maintained by the Austrian Emperor, and the increasing hostility of his Minister, caused him nearly equal apprehension. He now secretly sent the trusted Circello to see the Foreign Ministers accredited to Naples. His mission was formally to declare,—what they already well knew,—that Ferdinand's every act was the result of compulsion, and that it was his firm intention not to abdicate his crown.

There was no real cause for the King's alarm as far as the Powers were concerned. The monarchs of the Holy Alliance were well aware that Ferdinand had no sympathy with his revolted subjects, and that he looked to Europe for assistance. Although Metternich's first thought had been immediately to intervene by force of arms, he had soon found an expectant course more advisable. The Czar, while at Vienna, used his influence to restrain Austrian action, and with France in a threatening state of anti-Bourbon agitation it was thought best to proceed with deliberation. A congress was decided on, and was fixed to take place at Troppau in Austrian

Silesia. There, in October, the Emperor Francis, the Czar Alexander, and King Frederick William met; and there also was gathered a notable assemblage of statesmen and royal personages, including for Russia, Capo d'Istria, Nesselrode, Golowkin, Alopaüs, and the Grand Duke Nicholas; for Prussia, Hardenberg, Bernstorff, and the Crown Prince of Prussia; for Austria, Metternich, Mercy, Zichy, and Gentz; for Great Britain and France, Stewart and de La Ferronays.

The assembly of the Congress of Troppau alarmed the liberal party in the Latin countries. Its object was clear: the constitutional movement, already successful in Spain, Portugal, and southern Italy, was to be permitted to extend no further, and was to be stamped out by force of arms. There was good ground for the alarm of the liberals; the circumstances were now favourable for the assertion of Metternich's absolute leadership, so long disputed by the Czar and his Ministers. The leadership of the Holy Alliance and its policy was in fact seized by the Austrian statesman at Troppau; it was to be retained by him for more than a quarter of a century.

The Czar had at his side two counsellors representing opposite policies: Capo d'Istria, opposed to Metternich and Austria, anxious that Russia should play a direct part at Naples; Nesselrode, hand in glove with Metternich, advocating a cordial agreement with Austria, a policy of liberal repression, and the abstention of Russia from interference in the affairs of the Italian peninsula. Had there been no fear of the liberal movement spreading to the northern states it is probable that Capo d'Istria would have won; as it was, the Czar's fears were played on, and he finally accepted Nesselrode's

views. From that moment Metternich became the dominant figure in European politics.

The decisions of the Congress of Troppau were ostensibly founded on principles of international order and morality; they were in reality guided by the action of a present emergency on personal interests. The so-called principles were variously defended or denounced by the diplomats and by the liberal pamphleteers. The former appealed to the beneficent action of the monarchs who had quenched the fires of the Revolution, restored and enforced European peace and order. Their benevolence, their right, and their might, directly derived from the Divinity, must be employed in maintaining that peace on the basis agreed to by every European Power, and embodied in the treaties of 1814-1815, with their subsequent modifications. The events at Naples, constituting a direct breach of one of these treaties, and also threatening to rekindle the revolutionary outbreak which it had cost so much blood and treasure to extinguish, imposed the duty on the monarchs of the Holy Alliance to intervene for the re-establishment of the pre-existing order of things.

In reply to such arguments the liberal pamphleteers invoked theories of international law not more nebulous than the theological basis of their adversaries, but unfortunately commanding the support of far fewer bayonets. "A dwarf is as much a man as a giant; a small republic is no less a sovereign state than the mightiest kingdom." So wrote Vattel as early as the eighteenth century. His line of thought was followed by such publicists as Bignon, Constant, and Vatout. Every sovereign state, they argued, has external obligations that it may be called on to carry out, but its internal affairs concern itself alone. If the contentions of the

Holy Alliance were admitted, then the action of a whole people would be restricted to its own limits, while that of a few monarchs would override every frontier.

The real basis of the decisions of the Congress of Troppau was not, however, theoretical, but eminently practical. It was decided that before military movements took place, Ferdinand should be got away from the hands of his subjects, and that he should then be set up as a mediator between the Powers and the Constitutional Government. This decision was arrived at about the middle of November, and resulted in an invitation being sent to Ferdinand asking him to join the deliberations of the Congress. To facilitate this the Congress itself was now adjourned, to meet again at Laybach in southern Austria a few weeks later. The invitation to the King of Naples took the form of identic letters from Francis, Alexander, and Frederick William inviting Ferdinand to join them at Laybach for the sole purpose of executing engagements of which the principles had been proclaimed in 1814, 1815, and 1818, and so for securing the happiness of his subjects.[1] This step meant the success of the Austrian policy, and Metternich now declared: "We have arrived at the end of the first act of the play. . . . The King of Naples may come or he may stay at home; measures must be taken to suit both cases."

In the Congress of Troppau a preponderating rôle had been played by the three great Powers of north-eastern Europe—Austria, Russia, and Prussia; that played by Great Britain and France had been necessarily more modest. The British Cabinet took up the following position, as embodied in the instructions sent by Lord Castlereagh to Lord Stewart. An alliance against

[1] The text of this document is given in Appendix I.

Naples must be declined, for it could not be laid before Parliament in its present temper; therefore the intervening Powers must be left to act for themselves; but Austria should be asked for assurances that an increase of her influence in the Peninsula was not contemplated, in return for which Great Britain would lend a moral support to her action, perhaps even going to the extent of breaking off diplomatic relations with the Neapolitan Government.[1]

France, under a less autocratic *régime* than the other Continental Powers, and with a liberal party daily gaining in strength, indorsed the Holy Alliance policy in hesitating fashion, and attempted to settle the Neapolitan question by a compromise. A group of public men, among whom Marshal Suchet, Minister of War, de Rayneval, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, General Belliard, and Daure were conspicuous, put forward the idea of a French mediation. The condition of this mediation was that the Constitution of Naples should be amended and approximated to that of France. There was to be a House of Peers, the Parliament was not to sit continuously, the Council of State was to be appointed by the King, the royal Veto was to be full, the initiative of legislation was to be in the Crown, and also the right of dissolving Parliament.[2] On these conditions France might mediate; and Narbonne, the French Minister, declared to Pepe that in any event, provided the royal family was not harmed, France would not intervene forcibly.

This proposal of a French mediation was laid before the Parliament by Campochiaro on the 4th and 6th

[1] Castlereagh to Stewart, Sept. 16, 1820, Castlereagh, *Corr.* xii. 311.

[2] De Brancia to Campochiaro, Nov. 20, 1820, *For. Off. Sicily*, 91; D. . . . *Précis hist.* 41; Pepe, *Mems.* ii. 314; Bignon, *Congrès de Troppau*, 191.

of December, but was uncompromisingly rejected, the Assembly flatly declining to amend the Constitution along the lines proposed. On that same day, the 6th, Ferdinand received the letters summoning him to the Congress at Laybach, and the scene completely changed.

Ferdinand was thrown into a state of great agitation by the receipt of the invitation of the monarchs of the Holy Alliance. He immediately sent for the Foreign Ministers, declared to them his readiness to proceed to Laybach, and, somewhat inconsequently, "his conviction . . . that a constitution was become necessary for the country."[1] The King then drew up, with the advice of several of the foreign representatives, a declaration that he proposed to make to Parliament to explain his contemplated action. The Ministry arranged to put this forward on the following day, and to make every endeavour beforehand to win over votes.

Accordingly, on the 7th of December, the Ministers proceeded in a body to Parliament, and there read an address from the King. Its matter may be abbreviated into the following words :—

Faithful deputies of my Parliament—The Sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia invite me to confer at Laybach as a mediator between you and them. I am determined to sacrifice my every inclination to perform a duty that may avert the curse of war from my subjects. I shall do all to secure for you a wise and liberal Constitution founded on the following bases :—

Liberty of the subject.
No privileged classes.
Taxation and legislation to be voted by representatives of the people.
Independence of the judges.
Liberty, but not abuse, of the press.
Responsibility of Ministers.

[1] à Court to Stewart, Dec. 7, 1820, *For. Off. Sicily*, 91.

There shall be no persecution for political opinion. I ask that four deputies be chosen to accompany me. On departing I shall leave my well-beloved son, the Duke of Calabria, as Regent.[1]

This message was read by Campochiaro, and was listened to in deep silence but with every sign of agitation. The Assembly immediately appointed a committee, presided by Borrelli, to consider what reply should be made.

The constitutional essentials outlined in the King's message were too near the spirit of the French proposals, submitted by Campochiaro the day before, to please. The Carbonari pronounced unreservedly against permitting the King's departure, Pepe going so far as to urge that Ferdinand should be forcibly removed from the Palace and detained at Caserta. The Alta Vendita declared its sittings continuous, and many of the Good Cousins thought it necessary to appear in arms.

On the 8th Borrelli delivered to the Parliament the unanimous and unfavourable decision of the committee appointed to consider the King's message. Both he and Poerio defended this report at length, and made speeches on the occasion that have attracted more notice than they deserve. The Assembly accepted its committee's report, and voted an address whereby it declared that it declined to accede to that part of the King's message that was against the Constitution, and further that it declined to approve the King's departure unless for the purpose of maintaining the Spanish Constitution.

Of all the courses open to it the Parliament had adopted, unanimously, the worst one. For if Ferdinand was to be permitted to go to Laybach, then surely it

[1] *Diario del Parlamento*, 251.

was wiser to place him on his honour by giving him a free hand. But if his honour was not to be trusted, then surely it was better to decide that he was not to go to Laybach under any conditions. But the terms of the Parliament's declaration left the King a loophole, a poor one and a humiliating one, but neither so poor nor so humiliating as not to be welcomed by Ferdinand. The Parliament had said by implication that if the King wished to proceed to Laybach to defend the Spanish Constitution it would approve of the journey. So all that Ferdinand had to say was that his message to Parliament had no other signification than that he intended to maintain the Spanish Constitution. This was not true in fact, it was not true in spirit, it was in every respect at the antipodes of the truth; yet Ferdinand did not hesitate to declare that it was true, and after several days spent in conference and underhand intrigue the Parliament decided to accept the King's amended statement as to his position and to sanction his journey. What course the discussions on this subject took is discreetly left to the reader's imagination by the official *Diario del Parlamento.* The only one of the arguments put forward for permitting the King's departure rescued from oblivion is this: that thereby the presence of the British and French fleets in the Bay of Naples would be rendered superfluous. By this and other specious artifices of rhetoric was the inherent weakness of the Neapolitan Parliament veiled from its own eyes.

On the 10th of December Ferdinand requested Sir William à Court to place a British ship at his disposal to convey him to Leghorn. On the 13th he embarked on H.M.S. *Le Vengeur*, still displaying at his buttonhole the Carbonaro colours—black for the charcoal, red for

the fire, blue for the smoke! On the 14th the ship put in to Baia owing to a slight accident, and sailing again three days later, conveyed Ferdinand gladly away from the detested atmosphere of Constitutionalism. The day before leaving, the King addressed a letter to the Hereditary Prince. In this he declared that he went to Laybach to defend the Spanish Constitution, and that the Prince would earn his approval by supporting it; it was ostentatiously shown to all who came within the Court circle.[1]

The conciliatory spirit shown by the Parliament to the King was visited on the Ministry. The position of Zurlo and his colleagues had been one of extreme difficulty from the beginning. The members of the Ministry were by no means at one in their views. Campochiaro was absolutely at the command of the Court; Carascosa nearly equally so; Zurlo possessed neither the confidence of the sovereign nor that of the people; his colleagues cared more for their own interests than for those of the State. Of real power Zurlo had scarcely a vestige; is it to be wondered that he failed where none but a dictator or a demagogue might hope to succeed? Zurlo was the special butt of attacks of the most scurrilous and contemptible character. He met them with dignity and contempt, and declined even to read the libels circulated about him.[2]

On the 20th of November the Ministry was formally accused in Parliament of having violated the Constitution, and notwithstanding the flimsiness of the accusation and Zurlo's conclusive answer, he and his colleagues faced the Assembly for the last time when presenting the King's message concerning his journey to Laybach,

[1] Ferdinand to Duke of Calabria, Dec. 12, 1820, *For. Off. Sicily*, 93.
[2] Zurlo, *Rapporto sopra i libelli*, passim.

and immediately afterwards resigned their functions.[1] This was the end of Zurlo's public life, the inglorious termination of a remarkable and honourable career. He dealt little in eloquence, but was satisfied to accomplish much hard and honest work, and thus sank in the esteem of the vulgar. Yet it is difficult to find any one among those who played their parts in the early days of the regeneration of Italy who deserves to be placed above him. Honest among thieves, hard working in a land of ease, moderate in the midst of exaggeration, silent in the home of sonorous eloquence, sagacious though surrounded by folly, he had many of the qualities of a statesman, all those of an honourable man. He did not proclaim his own merits, and his name has long been forgotten; it is the historian's reward to redress the injustice and to inscribe Giuseppe Zurlo in the foremost place among the patriots and statesmen of southern Italy.

A new Ministry now had to be constituted to take the place of that which had just come to an end. It was destined to play no very important part, and it will suffice to record that the Duke di Gallo took Foreign Affairs, and that among its other members were General Parisi, the Duke of Carignano and Troise. The public at once recognised its complete incapacity to deal with the threatening circumstances that menaced the State. Among these circumstances none was more evident or more pressing than the military danger; and in this respect, as in so many others, the Carbonari had shown little political instinct. The only part of the army that might prove of some use in the field had been neutralized owing to a series of events that does not directly concern this history, and of which only the bare outline need be recalled.

[1] *Diario del Parlamento*, 193 *et seq.*; *Minerva Napol.* ii. 272.

General Church, whose excellent work in repressing the outrages of the Decisi in Puglia had won the confidence of the Government, had been appointed to the military command of Sicily, where there was much insubordination and agitation among the troops. He left Naples to take up his duties on the 2nd of July, only a few hours before the revolt of *Borbone Cavalleria* at Nola. The troops at Palermo, undisciplined and infected with Carbonarism, only wanted a pretext to rid themselves of a commander from whom a rigorous enforcement of discipline was to be expected. That pretext immediately followed the arrival of Church in the form of the news of the proclamation of the Constitution. Rioting broke out, and the soldiers turned against their commander. Church bravely attempted to restore order, and after uselessly risking his life, succeeded in making his escape to Naples. There he was imprisoned in the Castel del Uovo, for no apparent reason other than the jealousy of Carascosa and Pepe; the energetic representations of Sir William à Court finally resulted in his liberation.

The riots at Palermo were quickly turned to profit by the old trade guilds led by the *Conciarotti*. The Sicilians, always rebellious from their union with Naples, now sought to obtain autonomy. The Neapolitan Parliament, after sending Minichini on a fruitless mission of conciliation, decided that Palermo must be reduced to order by force of arms. The only really capable native-born officer, General Florestano Pepe, was placed in command of the expedition. He was given sixteen battalions, some 9000 men, that included all the best-disciplined troops of the army. After varying successes Florestano Pepe succeeded in obtaining the capitulation of Palermo on the 5th of October.

The terms of this capitulation not being thought satisfactory by the Parliament, Pepe was recalled and Colletta sent to replace him; but it was not found possible under the existing circumstances to reduce the strength of the army of occupation.

The troops sent to Sicily were all first and second battalions specially strengthened for active service. Only the third or depôt battalions remained at Naples; they were made up of all the recruits not deemed fit to stand the strain of campaigning. There was therefore a material difficulty of the first order in the way of preparing to resist intervention. Yet from the earliest weeks of the revolution its leaders had seen the necessity for military preparations. They were, however, contented with a show of numbers; efficiency was neglected as an unimportant detail. Promiscuous promotions of zealous Carbonari were made, with disastrous and demoralizing effects. Vendite were formed in every regiment in which privates and officers met on equal terms. A colonel might be admitted as an apprentice at a vendita presided over by a drummer, and of discipline there was an end.

The desertion of *Borbone Cavalleria* and of the *Farnese* regiment had been followed by an epidemic of desertion through the whole army. Many superior officers were disgusted with the change of government. Towards the end of November Colonel Zimmerman, chief of staff in Principato Ultra, was arrested for conspiracy against the Government. About the same time a Colonel Ansalone met the same fate, while at Naples the police were closely watching Don Pietro Capaccio, suspected of organizing a royalist plot. At the head of the army, and at daggers drawn, were Pepe and Carascosa. Their enmity had led Carascosa more

than once to threaten resignation, and the hatred of Pepe and the Carbonari had much to do with his fall and Zurlo's. After that date Pepe was the undisputed master of the army, most of the other generals standing aloof in disgust. He signalized the fact, his own lack of capacity, and the advent of the new year, by causing the promiscuous promotion of every officer employed on the general staff.

Confusion was not in the army alone. The finances, which Medici had left in a tolerably sound condition, were rapidly falling into disarray. The first four months of the constitutional *régime* had been marked by a wasteful expenditure that had cost Naples a sum equal to the revenue of two years, and when extra taxation was imposed to increase the army the taxpayers resisted collection.

For every reason the new year did not open very brightly for the people of Naples. There was still a widespread desire to obtain constitutional institutions of some sort; but great dissatisfaction had arisen against the Carbonari. The new class of small freeholders, the work of the French conquest, had made the backbone of the movement. That class "already occupied a principal part of all the real property of the kingdom," and now it was turning in disgust from a movement that could have no consistence without its support.[1]

The clergy, too, were now abandoning the Carbonaro cause, and a general feeling of misgiving arose when, following Zurlo's retirement, an exodus set in. Zurlo himself, Medici, the Duke di Sangro, and many other persons of influence left the city.

The absence of Ferdinand and the assumption of the government by the Hereditary Prince could deceive no

[1] à Court to Castlereagh, Jan. 1, 1821, *For. Off. Sicily*, 9

one as to the true state of affairs. The Duke of Calabria could inspire no confidence, though more than once in his life he had been unjustly suspected of liberalism. Bentinck had found him as docile a tool and pupil as had Ferdinand, as had Mary Caroline. His qualities, such as they were, were purely negative, and it was in this respect only that he might be thought a better man than his father. In private conversation he displayed intelligence, in public affairs pusillanimity. After Ferdinand's departure he protested to à Court with tears in his eyes against the cruel position forced on him by the King, and declared that his chief reliance was in the continued presence of the British ships in the bay. The Duke of Calabria's policy was one of pure and unabashed time-serving. With the Parliament he diligently kept up the semblance of cordial relations.

The Carbonaro legislators, whose term of office was now drawing to its close, continued busy with legislative and constitutional questions. The Regent affixed his signature to all their enactments, with one sole exception,—a bill for legalizing the marriage of priests. On the 31st of January, the Parliament having brought to an end its deliberations on the Constitution, it was ratified by the signature of the Hereditary Prince. The modifications made were not of an important nature, and need not be recorded. Public rejoicings greeted its promulgation, and the official journal solemnly pronounced its eulogy and declared it to be an "immortal work of Providence."[1] The Parliament, having now accomplished the great labour for which it had been convened, was prorogued till March, but in view of the increasing difficulties of the situation the greater part of the deputies decided to remain in the capital ready

[1] *Giornale Costituz.* Jan. 31, 1821.

to resume their duties at the first emergency. That emergency was not long coming.

It was only just before the Parliament's sessions were suspended that any official news was communicated to it concerning the King's journey to Laybach. That news when it did come did not serve to enlighten its hearers to any appreciable extent. For all that Ferdinand had to inform his faithful deputies was that he had met the Czar, and that the setters he had taken with him were far superior to those of the Autocrat of all the Russias. This was satisfactory, as far as it went, yet hardly served to lift the cloud of political uncertainty that was fast closing down on the Neapolitan frontier. But facts of more importance were already being whispered about in Court and diplomatic circles. It was known that on his arrival at Florence Ferdinand had made declarations showing that he had no intention of observing the oaths he had sworn, his cynicism exciting the indignation even of diplomats of such long experience of the Sicilian Court as à Court and Stackelberg.

On the arrival of the King of the Two Sicilies at Laybach he found there assembled the same monarchs and statesmen as had met shortly before at Troppau, except the King of Prussia, who had returned to Berlin. The presence of Ferdinand was most favourable to the development of Metternich's policy, for the Austrian statesman was anxious to find some show of right on which to base the approaching intervention. The course of events at Naples, the advent of the King, his perfect readiness to acquiesce in any course that would secure his throne free from the trammels of a constitution, gave Metternich precisely the cards he was most anxious to have. With these cards in hand he defeated

the last efforts of Capo d'Istria, and by the 25th of January obtained the decision of the Congress in favour of sending an Austrian army to Naples to put down the new Government. From this decision the British Cabinet formally, if not very sincerely, dissociated itself.[1] France took up a somewhat similar attitude.

On the 28th of January the policy of intervention entered on an active stage. Ferdinand wrote a letter to the Hereditary Prince in which he announced the decision that had been come to by the Congress. He declared that he had done his utmost to protect the interests of his subjects, but that the Powers were determined to employ force, and that the only possible course was submission. This letter was received at Naples on the 9th of February. On the same day the Ministers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia formally announced to the Hereditary Prince in identic terms that the Powers had resolved to occupy Naples by force of arms. The Duke of Calabria also received a private letter from his father in which he was instructed to dismiss the Ministry and to call proved royal partisans to office. This he resolved to keep secret, and instead of acting on it he decided to summon the Parliament to reassemble.[2]

On the 13th of February the Hereditary Prince proceeded in person to open the new session of Parliament. His reception was good. He made no declaration of policy, but confined himself to laying the correspondence from Laybach before the Assembly, declaring that for himself his intention was firmly to

[1] Castlereagh's Circular, Jan. 19, 1821, *Brit. State Papers*, 1820-1821, 1160; Greville, *Mems.* i. 66.

[2] à Court to Castlereagh, Feb. 22, 1821, *For. Off. Sicily*, 93.

abide by the Constitution. A committee was at once appointed to consider the correspondence submitted by the Regent, and on the 15th Borrelli carried a declaration that the Parliament declined to accept the proposals of the King and the Powers, that from this correspondence it must be inferred that the King had lost all liberty of action, that the Hereditary Prince should continue Regent, and that every measure should be taken to insure the safety of the State.

The visit of the Prince to the Parliament on the 13th had been rendered imposing by a large display of military strength. A wave of patriotism now took possession of Naples, and the flame lighted by the Carbonari gave one last convulsive flicker. For some days the greatest enthusiasm was shown for the national cause; cockades of red, black, and blue were everywhere displayed; and at the S. Carlo the performances of a popular opera, *Amor di patria*, gave rise to disorderly scenes.

Unfortunately the patriotic ferment culminated in crime. Manfredi, captain in the *guardia di sicurezza* and Grand Master of the Carbonaro vendita of the Filadelfici, followed by some thirty supporters, proceeded to the house occupied by the ex-Commissary of Police, Giampietro, at the end of the Riviera di Chiaja, close under the hill of Posilipo. Giampietro had been an active agent against the secret societies before the change of government; the Carbonari had now come to claim their revenge. They forced their way into the house, told Giampietro that they arrested him under legal warrant, tore him from his wife and servants, and marched him away. In the Mergellina, but a few paces from his home, the Carbonari began stabbing their victim, and soon left him dead in the street. To the

corpse they affixed a piece of paper, on which was traced the suggestive number 1.[1]

What is remarkable is not so much that this crime took place, but that it was the only one of its kind. The conditions all favoured disorder; police restriction was infinitely relaxed, secret protection was all-powerful, popular imagination was overheated, nerves were overstrung. Men of literary ability like Rossetti, victims of a passion for emphatic verbiage, appealed to and inflamed every unbalanced judgment. The famous improvisatore, who but a few months before adulated Ferdinand as the most adorable of monarchs, now reminded him in impassioned verse that assassins had rid the earth of Kotzebue and the Duc de Berry:—

> Traditor! da quel momento
> Che infrangesti il giuramento
> Cento stili, o traditore,
> Tendon avidi al tuo cor.[2]

The excitement was too great to last. In a week the fever heat gave way to fear and dejection, and when a few days later the Parliament called for volunteers to defend the State, only two individuals were to be found in all Naples to inscribe their names on the register.[3]

Nothing could now serve to animate the rank and file of the Carbonari. Only Pepe and the leaders who were hopelessly compromised continued to show a bold front and to nerve themselves for the coming struggle. Military measures were hurriedly submitted to Parlia-

[1] à Court to Castlereagh, Feb. 13, 1821, *For. Off. Sicily*, 93; *Decisione emessa della G. C. Speciale*, passim. Colletta's account is pure fiction.

[2] Traitor! from the moment—in which thou brokest thy oath—a hundred daggers, O traitor,—point eagerly to thy heart.

[3] Radowsky, 164; Colletta, *Stor.* ii. 403.

ment. That body, with its usual ready care for the necessities of the State, accordingly decreed that public prayers should be offered to God for three days so as to enlist His support for the national cause; it further ordered that certain French liberal pamphlets should be translated into Italian at the public expense, and also, in a lucid interval, that muskets should be bought.

The Hereditary Prince as Regent was Commander-in-Chief of the army. He foresaw a speedy collapse, and told Sir William à Court that in the meanwhile his intention was to maintain a constitutional position and to rely on the army; but, in case of disaster, to seek refuge on the British ships. Colletta, who had been recalled from Sicily, was appointed Minister of War instead of Parisi, and a scheme was elaborated whereby some 32,000 regulars and 42,000 militia could be placed on the frontier. This was only on paper, however, and it is probable that not more than 25,000 regulars were eventually concentrated, allowance being made for the garrisons of Naples, Capua, and Gaëta. The native forces received some slight reinforcement from liberal and other sympathizers from abroad. About a hundred old Napoleonic officers tendered their services, which were accepted. An English colonel offered to raise a corps of volunteers, and a London merchant to supply some ships of war; these offers were apparently commercial in their nature.

It was decided to form two armies to defend the frontier of the kingdom; one to take position in the Abruzzi, the second on the Garigliano. The command of the first was given to Pepe, of the second to Carascosa. Florestano Pepe was appointed Chief of Staff. Carascosa did his best,—even for some days went into hiding,—to avoid this command; with such a disposition

he was not likely to cause the Austrian generals great difficulty. It was therefore a prudent step on the part of the Regent to include in his army the best troops and commanders, — the Royal Guard and Generals D'Ambrosio, Filangieri, Pignatelli-Strongoli, and Roccaromana. Pepe, who, whatever his failings, was likely to fight, was given a command far smaller and inferior in quality.

Before their departure for the frontier, the Duke of Calabria reviewed the Guards, the Duchess attaching tricolour ribbons to their standards; and, not to be outdone by the Regent, the Alta Vendita invited the generals to a patriotic banquet that was fitly terminated by an improvisation of Rossetti. But the central point of interest soon shifted to the frontier, and to that part of the frontier that was in Pepe's keeping.

Pepe was familiar with the scene of action to which he was now called. Leaving out of account his experience under the preceding reign, he had visited the Abruzzi on a tour of inspection in December, in company with Minichini, and had found there neither fortifications nor munitions of war worthy of mention. From the Abruzzi Minichini had proceeded north under an assumed name to stir the secret society men to action. In Lombardy, in Romagna, in Piedmont, insurrection was smouldering, and a spark set by the Carbonaro leader might yet save Naples from invasion.

When Pepe returned to the Abruzzi in February to take up the command to which he had been appointed, he found himself at the head of a badly armed and disciplined force, without magazines, without transport, without hospitals, without money. The officers of his staff asserted openly that Carascosa's army would never support them. The inhabitants were discontented, and

at Aquila, where Pepe fixed his headquarters, there was no artillery. His total force was about 25,000 men, of which three-quarters were militia, and of this part was unarmed. Pepe's instructions from the Hereditary Prince were to retain Aquila at all costs, while Rieti was designated as a point which he might with advantage occupy.

On the 13th of February, the day on which the Hereditary Prince had announced the decisions of the Congress of Laybach to Parliament, the Austrian troops were ordered to cross the Po on their march south. On the 17th one division reached Ancona, where several gunboats had preceded them ; four days later Field-Marshal Mohr,—the officer who had driven D' Ambrosio and King Joachim back from Occhiobello in 1815,—was at Foligno with the main body, and on the 28th he pushed out an advance guard as far as Rieti. The Austrian Commander-in-Chief, Frimont, had issued a proclamation to his troops, in which he told them that they were entering a friendly country, of which the King was their ally, and of which the inhabitants should be well treated.

Pepe duly received notice of the presence of an Austrian brigade at Rieti, and determined to attack it. He might have awaited the Austrians between that place and Aquila, in the long and defensible pass of Antrodoco ; but he appears to have decided that the only chance of success was to inspire his troops with confidence by a bold stroke. Counting on the smallness of the Austrian force, on the advantage of a surprise, and on the skill of his dispositions, he hoped to win a first success. Accordingly on the 6th of March Pepe directed three columns, making a total of 3000 regulars and 9000 militia, on Rieti. These columns

were to concentrate on the Austrian position early on the morning of the 7th.

At Rieti was Geppert's brigade of Walmoden's division, making four battalions with some details. He was unexpectedly and briskly attacked on the morning of the 7th by the Neapolitans. For half an hour Pepe's men continued to advance; but one of his columns failed to reach its station, and his militiamen were thrown into confusion when their own artillery opened fire over their heads from a position just behind them. The remainder of Walmoden's division, quartered at Casa Vicentini, marched on the sound of firing, and soon the Neapolitans had lost the little spirit with which they had opened the fighting. Hesitation turned to retreat, retreat to rout, and rout to disbandment. Two-thirds of the entire force fled into the mountains; the rest made its way back, as safely as rapidly, into the pass of Antrodoco. The Austrian loss was fifty-four killed and wounded, that of the Neapolitans even less.

Pepe retreated on the same evening to Civita Ducale, where he succeeded in mustering barely 300 men; thence he retired to Aquila, and again on the 10th of March to Castel di Sangro, where he only had one hundred horse left. On the 15th he left Isernia for Naples; his army had completely disappeared.

Carascosa's troops behaved even worse than Pepe's; they disbanded without firing at or even seeing the enemy. Desertion began some days before Pepe's action at Rieti, and was doubtless to a large extent caused by a proclamation of the King which was widely circulated through the camps. In this Ferdinand declared that he was returning to care for his beloved subjects, to treat them with benevolence, and to restore order to the State; the Austrians were his allies, and were

to be received as friends. Desertions of whole companies took place, in some cases under the orders of the regimental vendita. On the 2nd of March Filangieri had to report from S. Germano the desertion of 133 men from one regiment, of 200 from another. A few days later the town itself was pillaged and nearly destroyed by a mob of disorderly soldiers.

After Pepe's rout at Rieti became known, Carascosa's army melted away faster than before. The state of affairs is well depicted in a letter of Filangieri to his Commander-in-Chief, written on the 17th of the month :—

> Your Excellency need have no apprehensions as to the position of Torricella ; either with my whole brigade or with what fraction remains, I will stay until further orders from your Excellency ; and if I have a few hundred shots fired at me from behind (as happened yesterday to Colonel Smerber) and should be so unfortunate as not to survive, your Excellency will be so good as to keep me a corner of the memory and for my family a part of the friendship that honours me.
>
> After the *political regeneration* that we owe to . . . and to the . . . of Monteforte, the Neapolitan Generals cannot die otherwise than at the hands of their own soldiers, since we have reached a point at which the unfortunate officers of all ranks will never succeed in seeing the enemy, not even with a field-glass.[1]

In the ranks of the Guard the desertion was of a somewhat different character from what it was in the rest of the army. The line regiments disbanded through indiscipline and fear, the Guards kept to their standards, but went over to the enemy. When the Austrians marched into Capua, a detachment of infantry of the Guard marched in with them, drums beating, colours flying, and cheering for Ferdinand.

[1] Carascosa, *Mem.* 502-529.

The King's proclamation, which had caused such havoc in Carascosa's ranks, was greeted with dismay and indignation by the Parliament. A few among the more ardent were for declaring Ferdinand deposed and the Duke of Calabria King, and failing the Regent, then his young son, who later had his years of celebrity as Ferdinand II. But confidence was gone, the unanimity of the Parliament was destroyed. It was known that Pepe intended to take the offensive during the first week of March, and on the 11th the official journal admitted his defeat. From that day the attendance of Members of Parliament became scanty, and on the 13th one of them, Netti, proposed what was virtually a motion of submission to the King. It was received with some signs of approval, but the dominant faction was still strong enough to have it voted down. During the following week the Carbonaro Parliament gradually died a natural death. On the 19th Poerio for the last time harangued twenty-six members of the Assembly, and recorded an eloquent and solemn protest in the name of popular rights against the forcible measures of Ferdinand, or the feeble collapse of the liberal movement.

Carascosa was now in negotiation with the Austrians, after having narrowly escaped being shot by his mutinous troops. On the 18th D' Ambrosio signed a convention surrendering Capua and suspending further hostilities.

A few desperate men, whose chance of pardon was hopeless, attempted to protract resistance. Silvati, Morelli, and a small group of followers,—the remains of the Sacred Squadron,—retreated to Monteforte. Avellino refused to receive them, their followers fell away, and they sought refuge in flight. At Ancona

they were captured and were handed over by the Papal police to the Neapolitan; their ultimate fate was the gallows. Pepe wandered aimlessly between Naples and Salerno for several days; he was finally furnished with papers as Minister to the United States, and in this official guise sailed from Castellamare on a Spanish vessel. He proceeded to London, where he met Carascosa, also a voluntary exile.[1] Borrelli obtained a passport from Sir William à Court, and thus made his escape, and many others got away by the same means, Gallo sending fictitious passports for à Court's signature. Rossetti was in hiding many weeks, and finally got away in a uniform provided for him by a British officer.[2]

The Austrian advance had been made in good time, for the north of Italy was now following the example of the south. On the 22nd of March it became known at Naples that the Piedmontese army had revolted, and that the kingdom of Sardinia had become a constitutional monarchy. As it was, it was too late to help the defunct liberal or Carbonaro cause at Naples. As the Austrians advanced the country rose on every side in royalist reaction. On the 18th they were already in possession of Capua; on the 21st two battalions of the

[1] Both Carascosa and Pepe were condemned to death. Not having seen enough fighting in Naples, they fought two duels on English soil, without result. Pepe lived many years and played a part in the movement of 1848, holding military command at Venice during the siege by the Austrians.

[2] Radowsky, 192; Rossetti, *Autobiography*; many got away later on passports issued by the Government, *Arch. Nap.* cxlvi. *passim*. à Court to Castlereagh, March 9, 1821, *For. Off. Sicily*, 93. à Court granted these passports for a reason he stated as follows: "The history of 1799 has left a stain of blood upon our character here which I have been anxious to efface." On the return of Ferdinand a special court was created to deal with treasonable offences before which 277 prisoners were arraigned. Two capital sentences were carried out, against Silvati and Morelli. On the 31st of May a general amnesty was declared, *Arch. Nap.* cxlvi. 10, 4720; *Giornale del Regno*, May 31, 1821, Colletta, *Stor.* ii. 443.

Guards, displaying the royal colours, marched down the Toledo. They were followed two days later by a column of white-coated Imperial infantry. The entering troops were greeted with the enthusiasm usual at Naples under such circumstances. A revolution was always to the mob an occasion either for ferocity or a festa; on this occasion a sense of pleasantry fortunately prevailed. A large notice was found posted up on the abode of the late Parliament, *Si Loca*,—to let, and a satirist of no mean powers circulated the following cruel epigram on his own countrymen :—

Pulcinello malcontento
Disertò dal reggimento,
Scrisse a mamma a Benevento
Della patria il tristo evento.

Movimento, parlamento,
Giuramento, pentimento,
Gran fermento e poco argento,
Armamento e nel cimento
Tra spavento e tradimento
Siam fuggiti come il vento.
Me ne pento, me ne pento.
Mamma cara, mamma bella,
Prega Dio per Pulcinella.[1]

On these lines the superficial observer, or the cynic, wearied at the relation of so much folly, might close. But the historian must carry his task to a juster conclusion. Through turpitude, incapacity, and cowardice he must recall the unmistakable march of progress;

[1] Pulcinella, unhappy,—deserted from the regiment,—Wrote to mamma from Benevento—the sad fate of the country.—Movement, parliament,—oaths, repentance,—great turmoil, little money,—arming, and at the moment of trial—what with fear and treason—we fled like the wind.—I repent, I repent.—Dear mother, ovely mother,—pray God for Pulcinella.—*Bibl. Nan. Misc. MSS.*

among thieves and double-dealers he must point to brave and honourable exceptions; to national weakness and national disaster he must oppose the miserable tradition of the ages, the brutish system, so long imposed on a helpless people, that made of the word nation a term devoid of significance, and that made of men beasts driven to the daily toil rather than members of a great family rising to a higher destiny. The French conquest, with its attendant sacrifices, had been the price paid for great political and social benefits, and its first-fruits were born in the liberal movement of 1820.

With all the disillusions, the sadness and even grotesqueness of its history, the Carbonaro Parliament was national and progressive in its character; it marked a great forward step towards a future of which none may venture to foretell the scope.

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Indipendente; *Indirizzo al P. N.*; MAZZA, *Memorie*; METTERNICH, *Mems.*; *Minerva Napolitana*; PALMIERI, *Storia Costituz.*; *Pamphleteer*, xxiv.; PEPE, *Mems.*; PEPE, *Relation*, *Pamphleteer*, xxiii.; RADOWSKY, *Cosi memorabili*; *Rapporto sulle finanze*; RAVASCHIERI, *Filangieri*; VATOUT, *Gouvernemens representatifs*; *Voce del Secolo*; ZURLO, *Rapporto sopra i libelli*.

APPENDIX A

THE MIRACLE OF SAN GENNARO

A DEEP recess in the wall behind the altar contains the relics of Saint Januarius; these consist of a silver gilt reliquary, shaped like a head, in which are placed the skull bones of the Saint, and of an ostensory or monstrance, also of silver gilt, in which is placed a vial containing a red substance; this is asserted to be coagulated blood, collected, according to tradition, when the Saint suffered martyrdom by decapitation. . . . On the recess being opened, a surpliced canon brought out the ostensory, and after showing to the people that the substance contained in the vial was coagulated, and saying aloud, *Il sangue è duro* (the blood is hard), he placed the relic on a silver pedestal on the Epistle side of the altar. He then brought out the image of the Saint and placed it on the Gospel side. The head was then stripped of some simple decorations in the shape of a mitre and a sort of cope in common material, and others were substituted of the same kind, but much more magnificent, embroidered in gold and silver and adorned with precious stones. A splendid golden collar was hung round the neck. . . .

This ceremony being completed, the officiating canon advanced to the Epistle side, took up the ostensory containing the vial and turned it towards the shrine of the Saint, without, however, bringing the two in contact. It is at that moment, and as a consequence of that proximity, that the blood ought to liquefy and the miracle be accomplished. But as the prodigy does not occur instantaneously, the hour is noted at which these two sets of relics are brought together, and fatal or favourable inductions are made according to the greater or less interval

before the liquefaction takes place. During this time litanies are sung by the choir, in which those present join, while the women implore the Saint to effect the miracle.

Meanwhile the priest who holds the ostensory moves it from time to time, pausing to see if any change is taking place, and if he perceives none he advances towards the people, and showing them the relics, he repeats sadly, *È duro.* I remarked that he did this three several times without success, and that each time prayers recommenced with redoubled fervour. At length the fourth time, after a pause of sixteen minutes, the miracle took place. I was near the canon, and I perceived the substance begin to detach itself from the sides of the glass, then slowly drop and spread so as to fill a greater space, *i.e.* nearly the whole bottle, which appears half empty when the matter it contains is in a solid form.

At the moment of the miracle, tears, sighs, and sobs succeeded to the cries of those present. I remarked women, who during the ceremony had been in a sort of convulsive delirium, burst into tears and throw themselves on their knees with every sign of devotion; others cast themselves on the ground and struck the pavement with their foreheads; each one, in short, expressed in her own way the reverence she felt. Many of those present kissed the ostensory, which the officiating priest held out to them for that purpose, after which he put it back on its pedestal, where it remained exposed for the rest of the day.—Miot, *Mems.* ii. 24.

APPENDIX B

TABLES OF MEASURES AND MONEYS

THE following table is framed with the sole object of elucidating the text.

Neapolitan mile = $\frac{1}{60}$th of a degree = 1 geographical mile.

A tomolo = 51 litres = 11$\frac{1}{5}$ gallons.

A soldo = 1 sou = 5 centimes = an English halfpenny or American cent.

A carlin = 4 soldi.

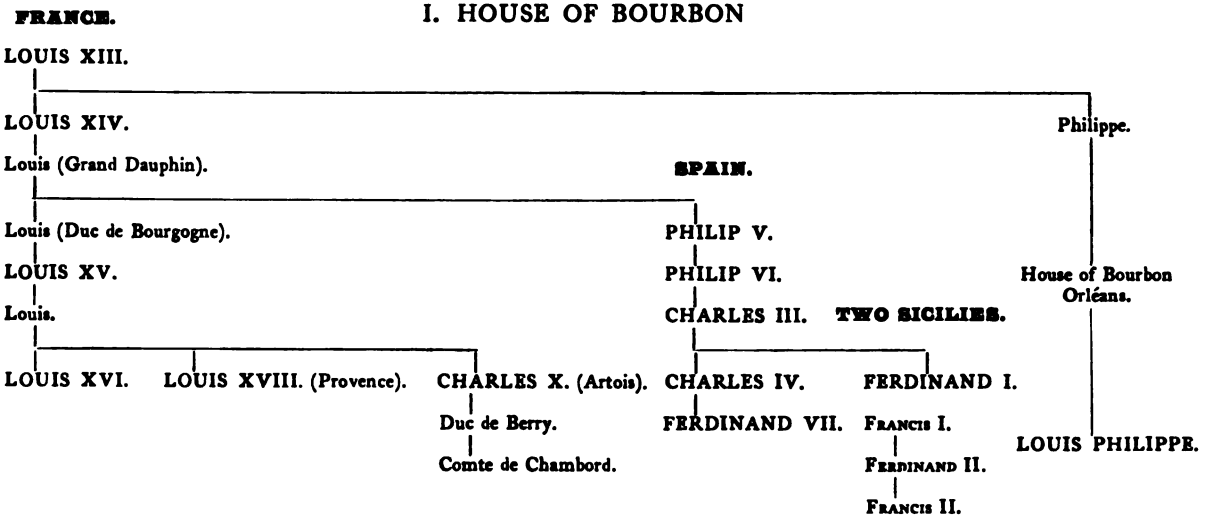
A ducat = 4.44 lire or francs.

An once = 2$\frac{3}{4}$ ducats.

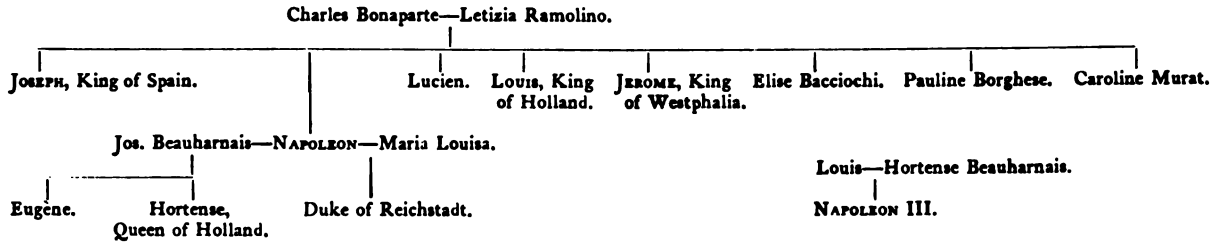
A scudo (Papal) = rather more than a Neapolitan ducat.

APPENDIX C

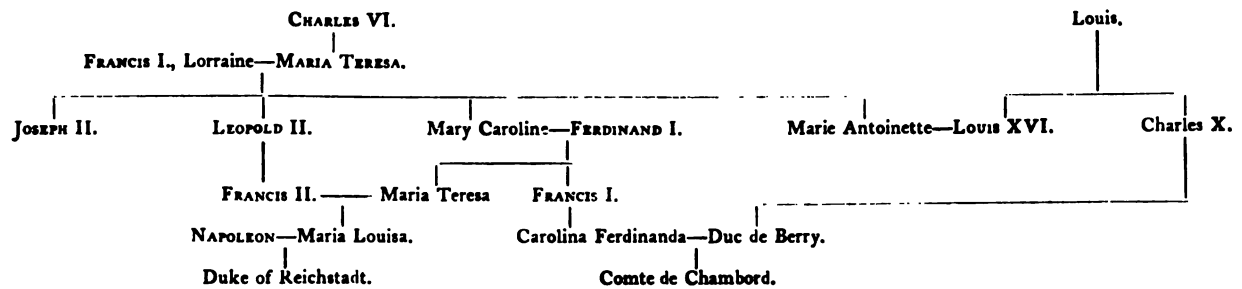
I. HOUSE OF BOURBON



II. HOUSE OF BONAPARTE



III. THE HAPSBURG, BONAPARTE, BOURBON ALLIANCES



APPENDIX D

MARY CAROLINE'S MEMOIRS

THE Memoirs of Queen Mary Caroline, referred to more than once in the notes, is a document of which I was fortunate enough to discover a copy among the MSS. of the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples.

The events it deals with are practically all included within the period 1805-1814, and it brings matters down to about six weeks before the Queen's death. The references to this MS. in the text will show its use as regards this history; its chief interest, however, is for Sicilian affairs, and particularly for the dispute between the Queen and Lord William Bentinck, which is narrated minutely.

It is very desirable that the Queen's Memoirs,—a jumble of fact, exaggeration, and fiction,—should be published, and at the same time that it should be checked by Bentinck's dispatches covering the same period. I intend undertaking this task as soon as I can see my way to clearing the preliminary difficulties that attend the publication of a book that can only hope to attain a circulation in directly inverse ratio to its historical importance and interest.

APPENDIX E

CASTLEREAGH'S FALSIFIED DISPATCHES

IN May 1815 Lord Castlereagh, to justify the British Cabinet's hostile attitude to the King of Naples, produced eight dispatches to the House of Commons tending to show that in the previous year the King had been false to the Allies and had come to a secret understanding with Napoleon. The debate is reported in Hansard. The following is a list of the documents produced by Castlereagh as given in the *British State Papers*, 1814-1815:—

1. Elise to Napoleon, February 14, 1814.

2. Napoleon to Caroline (*Elise* in the text, by a printer's error), February 17, 1814.
3. Fouché to Napoleon, February 18, 1814.
4. Eugène to Napoleon, February 20, 1814.
5. Consular reports.
6. Napoleon to Joachim, undated.
7. Clarke to Napoleon, March 3, 1814.
8. Napoleon to Joachim, March 5, 1814.

These dispatches had been supplied to Castlereagh by de Blacas after the first restoration of the Bourbons. In the following year, after Napoleon's return from Elba, they were produced to the House of Commons, and immediately afterwards the Paris *Moniteur* repudiated their authenticity and declared that the three above numbered 2, 6, and 8 were falsified (May 14, 1815). There can be no question as to Lord Castlereagh's good faith, there can also be no doubt that apart from the dispatches put forward, the King of Naples had pursued secret negotiations hostile to the interests of the Allies; what is extraordinary is not that Castlereagh had evidence to produce, but that he had so little.

The reputation of the *Moniteur* for veracity is not sufficient to make its assertion as to the falsification of these dispatches of any weight. According to Napoleon's official paper the texts of the letters had been altered, their dates changed from 1811 and 1813 to 1814. On the second restoration of the Bourbons the rough drafts were withdrawn from the Archives and presumably destroyed. It is therefore clearly to be inferred that they were at some time and in some way tampered with. But as these drafts no longer exist, the case now reposes on the denial of the *Moniteur*, on Méneval's statement that he saw drafts with interpolations (*Mems.* ii. 230), and on the internal evidence. As to Méneval's remarks they are hardly specific enough to cover the whole ground; he does not state the number of letters he saw, or what was the nature of the alterations except that they were in red ink; this statement is so contrary to what one would expect as further to confuse the whole matter. It may be added, however, that it was quite usual for drafts made by Napoleon to be elaborated by his secretaries.

The statement of the *Moniteur* has been accepted by the editors of Napoleon's correspondence. The official editors at the time of the Second Empire naturally adopted Napoleon's own version. Monsieur de Brotonne, in his valuable collection, has followed their lead.

Of these three letters I have only felt justified in utilizing one, number 6, which is given in vol. i. page 296; for to this one a date may be assigned with some certainty on exceptionally strong internal evidence. Of the other two letters, only this need be said, judging simply from their texts, that number 8 appears fully to justify the comments of the *Moniteur*, and that number 2, though by no means so certainly, may do so; they must therefore be treated as probably or possibly falsified, and as unsound historical evidence. As to number 6 it appears perfectly clear that it was written at the time assigned to it by Castlereagh, that is between the 20th of February and the 3rd of March 1814.

The date fixed by the *Moniteur* for this letter is the 26th of January 1813, that is, seven days after Napoleon had heard that King Joachim had left Russia for Naples and resigned the command of the *Grande Armée* to Prince Eugène. How is it possible to reconcile with this date the expressions of the letter that are here given in italics? "Turn to profit an act of *treason* which I attribute to *fear* so as to serve me by a *mutual understanding*. I rely on you, on your contrition, on *your promises*. . . . You have done me every possible injury since leaving Wilna. . . ." Not only are such expressions extraordinary at the date assigned to them, but how can such a letter, taken as a whole, be reconciled with the attitude at that period adopted by Napoleon, with the insulting comments on the transference of the command from Joachim to Eugène which he caused to be published in the official journal of the Empire at the very date ascribed to this letter, with the Emperor's pointed abstention from making any allusion to Joachim to the Neapolitan Minister, with Joachim's expressions in his letter to Belliard quoted in vol. i. page 259?

On the contrary, every significance of the letter precisely fits the events of February 1814; Joachim's treaty with the Austrians is his *act of treason*; it is attributable to *fear*, it may

be turned *to profit by a mutual understanding* if Joachim observes his *promises* of giving notice before embarking on hostilities, and perhaps even of joining Eugène in certain eventualities.

Not only does it require no stretch of any sort to fit these expressions to the circumstances of the end of February 1814, but another letter of Napoleon, the authenticity of which is uncontested, the date of which is the 26th of that month, is the logical counterpart of the one to the King of Naples. On that date Napoleon wrote to Joseph urging the possibility of regaining Italy by Joachim's assistance, and directing his brother to make overtures to the King in that sense; the letter contains the following expressions: "It appears that the Allies have not yet ratified the King of Naples' treaty. I wish you to send one of your people to proceed with all haste to the King, that you should write to him . . . offering to be his intermediary. . . . It is not too late to save Italy and replace the Viceroy on the Adige; . . . as no battle has taken place between the French and Neapolitan troops all can yet be arranged" (Napoleon to Joseph, February 26, 1814; Méneval, *Mems.* iii. 166, transl. Appleton, New York).

Such is the nature of the internal evidence on which I have decided to disregard the assertion of the *Moniteur* and the subsequent acquiescence of the French editors of the Napoleonic correspondence. I place the letter between the 20th of February and the 3rd of March, and taking the receipt of Eugène's dispatches from Italy as the probable determining cause, think the 27th of February the most probable date. See the *Moniteur*, May 14, 1815; *British State Papers*, 1814-1815; Napoleon, *Corr.* xxiv.; Napoleon, *Corr.* Brotonne, 422; Méneval, *Mems.* ii. 230; Talleyrand, *Corr. inédite*, 184; Hansard, *Parl. Debates*, xxxi., with other authorities cited in the text.

APPENDIX F

FERDINAND'S PROCLAMATION, 1ST OF MAY 1815

CANTÙ in his *Cronistoria* (ii. 47), following a number of writers of less importance, gives the text of a proclamation in which Ferdinand promised a constitution to the Neapolitans in the event of his return to the throne. Cantù traces his authority for this back to Pepe's *Relation*, published in London, when the Carbonaro leader was in exile. But the text of the proclamation may be found in an anterior publication—the *Atti relativi all' intervento*, published during the last months of the Carbonaro Parliament, and after Ferdinand's departure from Naples in December 1820. No text of this supposed document has been found of earlier date, but a trace of it, in fact its probable origin, can be placed a few days before the publication of the *Atti relativi all' intervento*. In his memorable speech in the Neapolitan Parliament on the 8th of December 1820, Pasquale Borrelli said, referring to King Ferdinand's restoration five years before: "His declarations were clear in his proclamation of the 1st of May, while yet at Palermo; he promised the sovereignty to the People, and the most vigorous and desirable Constitution for the State. . . . A declaration so noble and so generous did not fail to produce the most useful consequences. It was these declarations and not Teutonic valour that scattered our bands of heroes in the plains of Macerata." In the official journal of the Parliament in which this speech was printed (*Diario del Parlemento*, 253), it is worth noting that the words "and the most vigorous and desirable of Constitutions" are underlined. It is fortunately possible to test the credibility of Borrelli's assertions, and this emphatic and argumentative use of a fact so important, which is here apparently first stated five years after its supposed occurrence, is deprived of all weight by the obvious and demonstrable bad faith of the speaker on another point. Borrelli's argument is that Ferdinand, by his proclamation of the 1st of May, promised a Constitution, and that the knowledge that this promise had been made led the Neapolitan

army at Tolentino to offer a weak resistance to the Austrians. But, taking the most favourable conditions, it is hardly possible that the news of this proclamation could have reached Naples in less than two days, and from Naples to Macerata must be counted, at the very least, three days, while as an average matter it would take quite a week for the news to travel the distance. But the battle of Tolentino, as Borrelli apparently forgot, began at a little past nine o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of May, barely forty-eight hours after the issue of the proclamation at Palermo. The statement made by Borrelli was therefore, in this particular, nonsensical and false. And if in one particular, why not in the other? At the least his statement is unworthy of belief because every presumption and probability is against it. One writer indeed, a Bourbonist, Sclopis, plainly asserts that the Constitution proclamation is an invention (*Storia della legislazione Italiana*, bk. v. ch. iii.). The presumptive evidence supports him. In the *British State Papers* are two proclamations of Ferdinand, presumably sent to the British Government by à Court; one of these is dated Palermo, the 1st of May, the other later in the same month; in neither is there a word of Constitutionalism. But if that most compromising of words an absolute monarch can utter, *Constitution*, had been used, is it not curious that the British Minister should not have made note of it, and is it not curious that no evidence or trace of it can be found anywhere until on the 8th of December 1820 Borrelli turned an argument on it in the Neapolitan Parliament? Nearly every presumption appears to be against it, of which only one more will be mentioned; how is it that in the flood of political literature poured out in Naples on the establishment of the liberty of the Press, there is to be found no allusion to this remarkable proclamation until after the date of Borrelli's speech? The conclusion decidedly must be that the liberal leader and not King Ferdinand was the author of the *Constitution* proclamation.

APPENDIX G

TREATY OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE

TRAITÉ dit de Sainte Alliance signé entre Ll. Mm. l'Empereur de Russie, l'Empereur d'Autriche, et le Roi de Prusse, à Paris le $\frac{14}{26}$ September 1815. Au nom de la très-sainte et indivisible Trinité.

Ll. Mm. l'Empereur d'Autriche, le Roi de Prusse, et l'Empereur de Russie, par suite des grands événements qui ont signalé en Europe le cours des trois dernières années, et principalement des bienfaits qu'il a plu à la divine Providence de répandre sur les États dont les gouvernements ont placé leur confiance et leur espoir en elle seule, ayant acquis la conviction intime, qu'il est nécessaire d'asseoir la marche à adopter par les puissances dans leurs rapports mutuels sur les vérités sublimes que nous enseigne l'éternelle religion du Dieu Sauveur.

Déclarons sollennellement que le présent acte n'a pour objet que de manifester à la face de l'univers leur détermination inébranlable, de ne prendre pour règle de leur conduite, soit dans l'administration de leurs états respectifs, soit dans leurs relations politiques avec tout autre gouvernement, que les préceptes de cette religion sainte, préceptes de justice, de charité et de paix, qui loin d'être uniquement applicables à la vie privée, doivent au contraire influer directement sur les résolutions des princes, et guider toutes leurs démarches, comme étant le seul moyen de consolider les institutions humaines et de remédier à leurs imperfections.

En conséquence Ll. Mm. sont convenues des articles suivants : Art. I. Conformément aux paroles des Saintes-Ecritures, qui ordonnent à tous les hommes de se regarder comme frères, les trois monarques contractants demeureront unis per les liens d'une fraternité véritable et indissoluble, et se considérant comme compatriotes, ils se prêteront en toute occasion et en tout lieu assistance, aide et secours ; se regardant envers leurs sujets et armées comme pères de familles, ils les dirigeront dans le même esprit de fraternité dont ils sont animés pour protéger la religion, la paix et la justice.

Art. II. En conséquence le seul principe en vigueur soit entre les dits gouvernements, soit entre leurs sujets sera de se rendre réciproquement service, de se témoigner par une bienveillance inaltérable l'affection mutuelle dont ils doivent être animés de ne se considérer tous que comme membres d'une même nation chrétienne, les trois princes alliés ne s'envisageant eux-mêmes que comme délégués par la Providence pour gouverner trois branches d'une même famille, savoir : l'Autriche, la Prusse, et la Russie, confessant ainsi que la nation chrétienne dont eux et leurs peuples font partie n'a réellement d'autre souverain que celui à qui seul appartient en propriété la puissance, parcequ'en lui seul se trouvent tous les trésors de l'amour, de la science et de la sagesse infinie, c'est à dire Dieu notre divin Sauveur Jésus Christ, le verbe du Trés Haut, la parole de vie. Ll. Mm. recommandent en conséquence avec la plus tendre sollicitude à leurs peuples, comme unique moyen de jouir de cette paix qui nait de la bonne conscience et qui seul est durable, de se fortifier chaque jour davantage dans les principes et l'exercice des devoirs que le divin Sauveur a enseigné aux hommes.

Art. III. Toutes les puissances qui voudront sollennellement avouer les principes sacrés qui ont dicté le présent acte, et reconnaîtront combien il est important au bonheur des nations trop longtemps agitées, que ces verités exercent désormais sur les destinées humaines toute l'influence qui leur appartient seront reçues avec autant d'empressement que d'affection dans cette sainte alliance.

Fait triple et signé à Paris l'an de grace 1815 le $\frac{14}{26}$ Septembre.

FRANÇOIS.
FRÉDÉRIC-GUILLAUME.
ALEXANDRE.

APPENDIX H

CARBONARO DISCOURSE

THE earliest societies of men, hoping to find happiness within the walls of cities, intrusted the command of their

forces to one person for the common defence. He, instead of protecting and defending them, became their oppressor. Civil equality disappeared, and the rights of man were dethroned by despotism. Corrupted human nature suffered the laws of truth and justice to be supplanted by depravity of manners, and by the persecution and oppression of the good.

A few wise and good men, who still cherished in their hearts that morality whose principles are unalterable either by change of time or the succession of generations, while they wept over these evils in secret, ruminated on the means of preserving untainted some sentiment of sound morality. They secretly imparted their knowledge and their views to a few persons worthy of the distinction. Thus transmitted from generation to generation, their maxims became the fountain of that true philosophy which can never be corrupted nor altered in its appearance. It is in the school founded on them that, without veil or mystery, men are taught to respect and to maintain the rights of their fellow-men.

The mysteries of Mythras in Persia, of Isis in Egypt, of Eleusis in Greece, and of the temples yet to be rebuilt, and the light that is yet to be spread, are all so many rays proceeding from the same centre, moving in an orbit whose field is the immensity of wisdom.

Carbonarism is not the last or least of the societies that have proceeded from this school. It has simplified many various systems, and adopted only the unaffected language of nature. It presents itself without mystery to those who know how to understand it; it receives them into its peaceful bosom, and elevates them to the contemplation of never-varying nature, to the love of man collectively, to the hatred of oppression and despotism, to the knowledge of good, and of all that is useful to society and confirms the general systems of truth and justice.

Carbonarism teaches in its *baracche* the true end of moral existence, and gives rules of conduct for social life. It points out the means for diffusing the light of truth, and for disseminating the principles of philosophy and equality. It is to the sacred rights of equality that the G. C. must especially attach himself.

The cross should serve to crucify the tyrant who persecutes us and troubles our sacred operations. The crown of thorns should serve to pierce his head. The thread denotes the cord to lead him to the gibbet; the ladder will aid him to mount. The leaves are nails to pierce his hands and feet. The pick-axe will penetrate his breast, and shed the impure blood that flows in his veins. The axe will separate his head from his body, as the wolf who disturbs our pacific labours. The salt will prevent the corruption of his head, that it may last as a monument of the eternal infamy of despots. The pole will serve to put the skull of the tyrant upon. The furnace will burn his body. The shovel will scatter his ashes to the wind. The baracca will serve to prepare new tortures for the tyrant. The fountain will purify us from the vile blood we shall have shed. The linen will wipe away our stains and render us clean and pure. The forest is the place where the Good Cousins labour to obtain so important a result. The trunk with a single branch signifies that after the great operation we shall become equal to the N. C.—Bertholdi, *Memoirs*, 30.

APPENDIX I

FERDINAND'S INVITATION TO LAYBACH

The Emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia to the King of Sicily. (Each sovereign wrote an identic copy of this letter.)

TROPPAU, le 20 *Novembre* 1826.

Monsieur mon Frère,

De tristes circonstances ne m'ont pas permi de recevoir les lettres que Votre Majesté m'a adressées depuis quatre mois. Mais les événemens auxquels ces lettres ont dû se rapporter, n'ont cessé de faire le sujet de mes plus sérieuses méditations, et les Puissances Alliées se sont réunies à Troppau pour considérer ensemble les suites dont ces événemens menacent le reste de la Péninsule Italienne et peut-être l'Europe toute entière. En nous décidant à cette délibération commune,

nous n'avons fait que nous conformer aux transactions de 1814, 1815, et 1818; transactions dont Votre Majesté, ainsi que l'Europe, connait le caractère et le but, et sur lesquelles repose cette alliance tutélaire, uniquement destinée à garantir de toute atteinte l'indépendence politique et l'integrité territoriale de tous les États, et à assurer le repos et la prospérité de l'Europe par le repos et la prospérité de chacun des Pays dont elle se compose. Votre Majesté ne doutera donc pas que l'intention des Cabinets assemblés ici ne soit de concilier l'interêt et le bien être, dont la sollicitude paternelle de Votre Majesté doit désirer faire jouir ses Peuples, avec les devoirs que les monarques Alliés ont à remplir envers leurs États et envers le Monde. Mais nous nous féliciterions, mes Alliés et moi, d'exécuter ces engagemens solennels avec la coopération de votre Majesté, et fidéles aux principes que nous avons proclamés, nous demandons aujourd'hui cette coopération. C'est dans ce seul but, que nous proposons â Votre Majesté de se réunir à nous dans la ville de Laybach. Votre présence, Sire, hâtera, nous en sommes sûrs, une conciliation aussi indispensable, et c'est au nom des interêts les plus chers de Votre Royaume, et avec cette bienveillante sollicitude dont nous croyons avoir donné plus d'un témoignage à Votre Majesté, que nous l'invitons à venir recevoir de nouvelles preuves de la véritable amitié que nous lui portons, et de la franchise qui fait la base de notre politique. Recevez l'assurance, etc.

Sa Majesté le Roi des Deux Siciles.

Brit. State Papers, 1820-1821, 1147.

APPENDIX K

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES, 1805–1821

Section I.	Periodical Publications .	1805–1815
„ II.	„ „ .	1815–1821
„ III.	Pamphlets	1805–1815
„ IV.	„	1815–1821
„ V.	Books dealing generally with the Period . .	1805 – 1821
„ VI.	Books dealing specifically with the Period . .	1805–1815
„ VII.	Books dealing specifically with the Period . .	1815–1821

This is not a bibliography of *books consulted*, but precisely as stated in the heading, and, it is hoped, fairly exhaustive within its narrow limits. Many books consulted,—for instance Ammirati's *Gius feodale*, Blunt's *Vestiges*, the *Memoirs* of the Duchess d'Abrantès,—are not included, as they do not, strictly speaking, come within the definition of books dealing with the political history of Naples between the years 1805 and 1821. A list that included such authorities might be extended indefinitely, and would soon lose all character of preciseness and completeness.

In Section IV. some discretion has been used. Many pamphlets could have been added, and a few might perhaps better have been omitted. The numerous ones emanating from various classes of civil servants at the time of the revolution of 1820 have been nearly entirely excluded as representing nothing more than particular arguments advocating personal interests. On the other hand, others have been included of which the political character was doubtful for the reason that they were strongly typical of the state of public opinion and of its mode of expression. The few examples of verse may be included among these.

In Section V., again, some process of selection was necessary, for the general histories of Italy are numberless, and for the most part of scanty value. In view of the considerable amount of special material presented, it may be fairly claimed that this class of book is sufficiently represented in the few referred to in this section.

SECTION I

Periodical Publications, 1805–1815

1. Annual Register. London, 1805-1815. 8vo.

2. British and Foreign State Papers.
London, from 1812 annually. 8vo.

3. Bulletino delle leggi del regno di Napoli.
Napoli, 1806-1815. 8vo.
Two numbers a year. For its continuation see Collezione delle leggi, 18.

4. Corriere di Napoli.
Newspaper, generally weekly, 1806 *to* 1811. *On Feb.* 1, 1811, *it was absorbed by the* Monitore delle Due Sicilie ; *was previously under official influence. See* 8.

5. Gazzetta di Gaëta.
Published irregularly during the siege. There are a few copies among the papers of the British Admiralty.

6. Gazzetta Napolitana.
Suppressed in 1806, *and succeeded by the* Monitore.

7. Hansard, F. C. The Parliamentary Debates from the year 1803 to the present time. London, annually. 8vo.

8. Monitore Napolitano, Il, afterwards *Monitore delle Due Sicilie.*
Official organ under the French kings. At first weekly, then irregular, lastly daily. First number March 1, 1806 ; *last, May* 19, 1815. *See* 24.

SECTION I.—*continued*

9. Papers respecting Austria, Denmark, the Ottoman Porte, Portugal, and the United States, presented to Parliament in 1808. London, 1808. 8vo.
See next number.

10. Treaties and Correspondence presented by His Majesty's command to both Houses of Parliament, 28th January 1806, and 3rd and 4th February 1806.
London, 1809. 8vo.
Part of series printed by Strahan that preceded British and Foreign State Papers.

SECTION II

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS, 1815–1821

11. Amico della Costituzione, L'.
Small 4to periodical, of which the first number was published at Naples, July 23, 1820. It was still in existence in January 1821. Among the contributors was Colletta, who wrote for it his Pochi fatti su Gioacchino Murat.

12. Amico della Prosperità, L'.
Fortnightly; Naples, 1820; newspaper.

13. Annali del patriotismo.
Naples, 1820; newspaper.

14. Annual Register. London, 1815-1821. 8vo.

15. Biblioteca Costituzionale.
Naples, 1820; periodically about three times a month.

16. British and Foreign State Papers.
London, from 1812 annually. 8vo.

17. Censore, Il, Foglio politico letterario.
Bi-weekly of some importance. First number Naples, Nov. 24, 1820; last, March 13, 1821. Not to be confounded with Gioja's similarly named Milanese journal. Edited by Palladini of Lecce.

SECTION II.—*continued*

CESARE, DE. *See* 44.

18. Collezione delle leggi e decreti reali del regno di Napoli. Napoli, 1815- . 8vo.
Two numbers a year; in continuation of the Bulletino, 3.

19. Ebdomadario.
Small bi-weekly of slight importance. First number Naples, July 22, 1820.

20. Echo, L', Journal politique, commercial et littéraire.
First number Naples, July 21, 1820; *tri-weekly, well edited.*

FOSCHI. *See* Trattenimento, 40.

21. Giornale Anti-Ministeriale.
Weekly Carbonaro organ. First number Naples, Sept. 5, 1820.

22. Giornale costituzionale del regno delle Due Sicilie.
Official daily, succeeding the Giornale delle Due Sicilie. *See* 24.

23. Giornale della R. Lucana Occidentale.
Carbonaro print published at Salerno, 1820.

24. Giornale delle Due Sicilie.
Official daily, succeeding the Monitore, *May* 23, 1815-*July* 7, 1820. *Resumed on close of revolution in* 1821. *See* 8, 22.

25. Giornale degli Amici della Patria.
First number Naples, July 8, 1820 (*by misprint June*). *Rossetti was a contributor, De Ritis the editor.*

26. Giornale di commercio e mode.
Small tri-weekly. First number Naples, October 2, 1820.

SECTION II.—*continued*

27. Giornale di piccoli affissi, afterwards Giornale di varietà e di piccoli affissi.
Small weekly. First number Naples, Oct. 7, 1820.

28. Giornale generale di Commercio.
Good bi-weekly. First number Naples, Oct. 10, 1820.

29. Giornale patriottico della Lucania orientale.
Carbonaro print published irregularly at Potenza. First number July 10, 1820; *last, March* 13, 1821; 14 *numbers in all.*

IMBRIANI. *See* 43.

30. Imparziale, L', Foglio politico.
Bi-weekly of some importance. First number Naples, July 28, 1820.

31. Indipendente, L', Giornale politico, letterario e commerciale.
Naples, 1820.

32. Ingenuo per le dame, L'.
Unimportant weekly. First number Naples, March 3, 1821; 4 *numbers in all.*

33. Liceo Costituzionale, Il.
First number Naples, October 1820.

34. Luce, La.
Weekly, edited by Carlo Sorrentino. First number July 22, 1820.

MELE. *See* 44.

35. Minerva Napolitana, La.
Napoli, 1820-21. 3 vols. 12mo.
Important weekly, edited and principally written by Carlo Troja. First number Aug. 8, 1820; *last, March* 10, 1821.

SECTION II.—*continued*

36. Observatore Salentino, L'.
Irregularly published. First number January 1821.

PALLADINI. *See* 17.

37. Popolo Sovrano, Il, ovvero il re cittadino.
Monthly. First number, Naples, Sept. 15, 1820.

RITIS, DE. *See* 25.

ROSSETTI. *See* 25.

38. Solitario, Il.
Irregularly published. First number Naples, Aug. 3, 1820.

SORRENTINO. *See* 34.

39. Spettatore Napolitano, Lo, Giornale letterario scientifico.
Published fortnightly at Naples.

40. Trattenimento mensile, utile e piacevole che presenta in varii articoli notizie cosmografiche, istorie generali e patrie del regno di Napoli. Erudizioni per varii ceti di persone, curiosità dilletevoli, ed utili segreti, col riassunto delle Nuove piu importanti del mese antecedente, estratte da varii Fogli, e de Provedimenti reali.
Monthly gazette of slight importance published in 1816. *Perhaps edited by N. Foschi.*

TROJA. *See* 35.

41. Verità, La, Giornale patriottico, letterario, commerciale.
Published at Naples in 1820 *or* 1821.

42. Vigilante, Il, Giornale storico-politico.
Small bi-weekly of some importance edited by Girard. First number, Naples, Aug. 5, 1820.

SECTION II.—*continued*

43. Voce del Popolo, La.
Important weekly, edited by Matteo Imbriani. Published at Naples, January and February 1821.

44. Voce del Secolo, La.
Bi-weekly of some importance. Among the contributors was De Cesare; editor C. Mele. First number, Naples, Jan. 2; last, March 16, 1821.

NOTE.—No attempt has been made to include the official Gazettes brought out at the chief Provincial towns. Only a few stray copies of these have come under observation, ranging in dates from 1817 to 1821.

SECTION III

PAMPHLETS, 1805–1815

Antico Uffiziale. *See* 54.

45. ARDITI, CAV. Moneta da battersi a perpetuo monumento della regale amnestia publicata dal nostro augusto sovrano Ferdinando IV in favor de suoi sudditi co' suoi clementissimi proclami spediti da Palermo e da Messina nel Maggio dell' anno MDCCCXV. Memoria epistolare. Napoli, 1815. 4to.
Interesting for public opinion.

46. [CANOSA, PRINCE OF]. I Napoletani compromessi hanno un dritto perfetto ad essere sussidiati nel regno di Sicilia. Memoria. Edizione seconda arrichita di nuove annotazioni. Palermo, 1813. 4to.

47. Carbonaro istruito, Il. Milano, 1815. 12mo.
The only copy of this important and rare pamphlet that has come under observation is a MS. at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples.

SECTION III.—*continued*

48. Conférence entre deux diplomates l'un français et l'autre anglais sur les affaires de Naples. [Paris, 1815.] 8vo.
Curious pamphlet in support of Murat's claims, probably published in January or February.

49. Copia di una seconda lettera che un amico da Vienna scrive ad un altro in Napoli. Napoli, 1815. 4to.
There was no first *letter. In reply to Obbart's pamphlet,* Observations. *See* 53.

50. [FLASSAN, DE]. Des Bourbons de Naples. Paris, 1814. 8vo.
Published under initials M. de F... Short pamphlet, starting point of considerable controversy. A Neapolitan translation appeared after Murat's fall.

51. Lettera di un Inglese nel suo ritorno in Inghilterra da un viaggio in Italia nel mese di Agosto, 1814. [Napoli?] 1814. 8vo.
Of slight importance; in support of Murat and translated from an English version.

52. Memoria sulla condotta politica e militare tenuta da Giocchino Murat. Con le quali sull' appoggio di fatti, e di documenti fino ad ora non conosciutti, provasi che il solo di lui scopo fu di servire ai progetti ed alla causa di Bonaparte sotto la maschera di Alleato nella Casa d' Austria. Italia, 1815. 2 vols. 8vo.
A French translation appeared in the same year. Work of a Bourbonist; useful, though prejudiced and inaccurate.

53. [OBBART, TOMMASO]. Observations sur l'écrit intitulé: Des Bourbons de Naples et réflexions d'un Napolitain. Paris, 1814. 8vo.
Muratist reply to de Flassan. Peltier may have had a hand in this pamphlet; there was an Italian translation. See 50.

PELTIER. *See* 53.

SECTION III.—*continued*

54. [PIGNATELLI-STRONGOLI, FRANCESCO]. Discorsi storici sulla storia del reame di Napoli del General Colletta. Lugano, 1836. 3 parts, 8vo.
Published under pseudonym of Antico Uffiziale. *Important for campaign of* 1815; *highly controversial and untrustworthy.*

55. SARRAZIN, J. Défense des Bourbons de Naples contre les panégyristes de l'usurpateur Murat. Paris, 1815. 8vo.

56. SATRIANI, DOMENICO. Considerazioni storico-politiche in congiuntura degli avvenimenti sul continente ed in ispezialtà sul regno di Napoli. Napoli, 1807. 4to.
Curious; supporting theories as to the Bonaparte claims to crowns of Western Empire and Naples.

57. TABARAUD, MATHIEU MATHURIN. Du Pape et des Jésuites, ou exposé de quelques événements du pontificat de Pie VII. Paris, 1814-1815. 8vo.

58. [WINSPEARE, D.]. Voti de' Napoletani al Congresso di Vienna. Risposta ai giornali di Sicilia. Napoli, 1814. 8vo.
Important pamphlet in support of Murat.

SECTION IV

PAMPHLETS, 1815-1821

59. A. C. (G... M... C...). Confessione di Giampetro. [Napoli, 1821.] Fo. (1 sheet).
Curious and typical Carbonaro attack on Giampietro.

60. AJELLO, GIOVANNI. Rappresentanza a sua sacra real Maestà Ferdinando I. Re del regno delle Due Sicilie umiliatale dal commessario di Polizia Giovanni Ajello. Napoli, 1821. 8vo.
Bourbonist pamphlet on restoration; of slight importance.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

61. AMARELLI, GREGORIO. Osservazioni legali, filosofiche, politiche, che si sommettono all' alto discernimento della Rappresentazione Nazionale, e del Re, contra alcuni principali, e più interessanti articoli del Codice Civile del Regno delle Due Sicilie, pubblicato in Napoli anno 1819. E contra altri vizii e disfetti del Codice di Procedura Civile, per riformersi. Napoli, 1820. 4to.
The title sufficiently indicates contents.

62. AMMENDOLA, LUIGI. Allocuzione del Sacerdote D. Luigi Ammendola recitata nella parrochiale chiesa di S. Giuseppe dì Otajano nel dì 16 Luglio, 1820.
[Napoli], 1820. 4to.
Curious Carbonaro address.

ANGELO, S. *See* 101.

63. ANGELONI, LUIGI. Dell' Italia uscente il Settembre 1818. Raggionimenti IV. Prima edizione Napolitana eseguita sulla originale impresa in Parigi dell' Autore.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Nationalist pamphlet of considerable interest.

64. A. P. Rappresentanza di uno spagnuolo a S. M. I. e R. l'Imperadore di Austria in seguito alla Nota del 19 Settembre relativa agli avvenimenti di Napoli e communicate alle differenti Corti Alemanne.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Liberal pamphlet of no great importance.

65. Apertura dei sacri travaglii per uso del B. C. N. N. figlio della R. V. sotto il T. D. Napoli [1820]. 4to.
Of slight importance.

66. Appel des Siciliens à la nation anglaise garante de la constitution violée par le roi de Naples.
London, 1817. 8vo.
Curious pamphlet in French and English.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

67. ARCUCCI, GENNARO. Rifflessioni in confutazione della rimostranza della Società de' Carbonari al Sommo Pontefice Pio VII. de 20 Settembre 1820, e dell' indirizzo a S. A. R. il Principe Ereditario.
Napoli, 1822. Fo.
Reprinted from an earlier edition. Bourbonist pamphlet of no great importance.

68. Atti relativi all' intervento di S. M. il Re delle Due Sicilie nel Congresso di Laybach accompagnati di tutti i documenti correlativi e disposti in guisa da dilucidare la storia della fondazione del nuovo regime costituzionale nel regno. Napoli, 1820. 4to.
Published in December. An amplified edition described as Prima edizione ufiziale *was published a few weeks later. Important but untrustworthy.*

69. B. Z. Voti de' Calabresi. [1820.] Fo.
Important and curious pamphlet, in favour of local decentralization.

70. BALSAMO, V. Pensieri sugli ultimi avvenimenti seguiti dal ragionamento di un elettore con se stesso.
Lecce, 15 Luglio, 1820. 4to.
The ragionamento *is the reproduction of a pamphlet of Benjamin Constant. Of slight importance.*

71. Battaglia di Tolentino, La, Memorie storiche scritte da un Contemporaneo. Roma, 1847. 8vo.
Rare pamphlet; has not been met with. May be that written by Fortunato Primavera.

72. BIANCHI, FRANCESCO. Discorso patriottico dell' allievo di Solone agli amici del pubblico bene.
Napoli, 8 Agosto, 1820. 4to.
Carbonaro pamphlet, of slight importance.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

73. BIGNON, M. Du Congrès de Troppau, ou examen des prétentions des Monarchies absolues à l'égard de la monarchie constitutionnelle de Naples. Deuxième édition revue et augmentée. Paris, Janvier, 1821. 8vo.
Translated into Italian by Giuliano (Napoli, 1821).
Important; the arguments are reproduced in the next.

74. BIGNON, M. Les cabinets et les peuples depuis 1815 jusqu'à la fin de 1822. Paris, Dec. 1822. 8vo.
Important pamphlet, embodies many arguments used in Du Congrès de Troppau.

75. Breve e fidele esposizione de' primi fatti avvenuti nella Luc. orientale del giorno 4 al 7mo Luglio, per lo stabilimento della costituzione. [Potenza? 1820.] 4to.

76. Brevi riflessioni su' miglioramenti essenziali che sarebbero necessarii a farsi alla Costituzione spagnuola per adattarla allo sviluppo della nazione del regno delle Due Sicilie. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Of little importance.

77. Bulletin sur les affaires de Naples. Paris, Mars 1821. 8vo.
A continuation of Naples et Laybach. *See* 151.

78. CALCATERRA, NICOLA. Importanza de' cittadini costituenti. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Unimportant.

79. Catechismo costituzionale della Monarchia spagnuola, destinato ad illuminare il popolo, ad istruire la gioventù ed ad uso delle scuole primarie. Prima traduzione italiana. Napoli, 1820. 12mo.
Contents sufficiently indicated in title.

80. Catechismo costituzionale per uso del regno unito delle Sicilie. Napoli, 1820. 4to.
Perhaps written by Galanti about the end of July.
Discusses possible constitutional amendment.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

81. Catechismo di un B... C... C... in grado di apprendente. Salerno, 1820. 12mo.
Unimportant.

82. Catechismo politico per la nazione del regno delle Due Sicilie. Napoli, 1820. 4to.

83. CAUCHOIS LEMAIRE, L. A. F. De Naples et de la déclaration de Laybach. Paris, 1821. 8vo.
Short liberal pamphlet of slight importance.

84. C. C. Un' occhiata alle riflessioni sulle finanze del Cavalier Tortora. [Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Of slight importance.

85. CEDRONIO, ALESSANDRO. Non basta cangiar governo. Discorso al popolo. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Unimportant.

86. Cenno istorico su i fatti che hanno proceduto e prodotto il movimento del Battaglione Sacro di Nola. [Napoli, 1820.] 12mo.

87. CEPOLLA, LUIGI. Saggio d' idee filosofiche sopra la quistione più favorita del giorno qual è la migliore politica costituzione. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
The title sufficiently indicates contents.

CHURCH. *See* 172.

88. Ciò che si attende dal Re. [Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Unimportant.

89. Cittadino imparziale, Il. Il bene e il male. [Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Unimportant.

90. COLLETTA, PIETRO. Pochi fatti su Gioacchino Murat. Estratti dal Giornale *l'Amico della Costituzione.* Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Of some interest; gave rise to much controversy. Republished in the Opere inedite e rare, 1861.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

91. COLLETTA, PIETRO. La storia di Napoli del 2 al 6 Luglio 1820. [Napoli, 1820.]
Republished in the Opere inedite e rare, 1861.
Panegyric of the revolution.

92. COLLETTA, PIETRO. Riconoscenza e memoria militare sulla frontiera di terra del regno di Napoli.
[Napoli, 1821.] 8vo.
Republished in the Opere inedite e rare, 1861.

93. Colpo d' occhio sulla finanza del Regno delle Due Sicilie.
[Napoli, 1821.] Fo.
Financial discussion; of some interest; probably published in January.

94. CONSTANT, BENJAMIN. *See* 70, 126.

95. Costituzione del Popolo Carbonaro della Republica Lucana Orientale. Anno I. [Potenza?] [1820.] 12mo.
Of considerable importance for the subject.

96. Costituzione politica della monarchia spagnuola tradotta per ordine del Governo. Edizione uffiziale.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
The Spanish Constitution as adopted in July 1820.

97. Costituzione politica del regno delle Due Sicilie. Edizione fatta per ordine e sotto la direzione del Parlamento.
Napoli, 1821. 8vo.
The Spanish Constitution as amended, and promulgated, Jan. 31, 1821.

98. COURTELIN. Coup d'œil sur les révolutions d'Espagne et de Naples. Paris, 1820. 8vo.

99. CROTONIATE, MICHELE FARINA. Della responsabilità de' deputati ossia breve osservazioni sull' articolo 128 della costituzione della Spagna.
Napoli, 30 Luglio, 1820. 4to.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

100. C. T. A... G... D... G... M... D... U... ED... N... P... S... T... [Napoli, 1820.] 8vo.
Defence, under an assumed Carbonaro guise, of Zurlo against the attacks of the Rossetti party.

101. DE ATTELLIS, ORAZIO, MARCHESE DI S. ANGELO. Due parole sulla libertà della stampa.
Napoli, 1820. 4to.
Reproducing the ordinary arguments on the subject. De Attellis was one of the most prolific pamphleteers of the day, generally writing on matters of private interest.

102. DE CLARIO, C. Il gran colosso roso nel fondo di un piè da un vermicino. Risposta all' anonimo scritto pubblicato contro S. E. il sig. D. Giuseppe Zurlo Ministro del-l' Interno. [Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Curious rhymed defence of Zurlo.

103. Del Consiglio di Stato.
Napoli, 5 Novembre 1820. 4to.
There were other pamphlets on this subject; this is perhaps the least unimportant.

104. DELLA MARIA, COSTANTINO. Manuale politico per i Siculo-Napoletani; ovvero Principii di dritto pubblico particulare pel Regno delle Due Sicilie.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.

105. Dialogo di due assassini calderai per mezzo del quale si scovranno tali. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Curious, but of no special importance.

106. Dialogue entre un autrichien et un napolitain.
Naples, 15 Février, 1821. 8vo.
Unimportant. Also an Italian translation.

107. Diario del Parlamento nazionale delle Due Sicile. Giunte preparatorie. Anno 1820. [Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Official reports up to Dec. 3, 1820.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

108. DI GESE, DOMENICO. Le voci della nazione napolitana agli eligendi deputati per le Corti.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Unimportant.

109. DIRCHIME, ERCOLE. Apologia di Zurlo.
Napoli, Agosto, 1820. 8vo.
Reply to the Rossetti attacks. Of interest for the internal factions of the Carbonari. See 110.

110. DIRCHIME, ERCOLE. Apologia di Zurlo con le riffessioni critiche sulle note dell' anonimo che ha scritta la di costui vita. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Amplification of above, and more important.

111. Discorso politico detto nel giorno 16 Luglio dell' anno 1820, nella sollenne publicazione della nazionale Costituzione. [Napoli, 1820.] Fo.
Contains much curious Carbonaro symbolism; for the rest unimportant.

112. Estemporanea arringa tenuta in una radunanza di rispettabili buoni cittadini per maggiormente incoraggiare loro alla virtù. [Napoli], 10 Agosto 1820. 4to.

113. F. D. Esame sulle recompense a' primi di Monteforte rimesso al pubblico. Napoli [1820]. 4to.
Unimportant.

114. F. D. L. Catechismo del cittadino d' istruzione primaria. Diretto al popolo della Monarchia delle Due Sicilie.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Unimportant.

FERRANI. *See* 203.

115. FERRARO, VINCENZO. Dottrina del popolo costituzionale.
Napoli, 1820. 12mo.
Unimportant.

FONTANELLA. *See* 170.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

116. G. A. Rimostranza della Società de' Carbonari al Sommo Pontefice Pio VII. Napoli, 20 Sett. 1820. 4to.

117. G. G. Sulla elezione de' deputati al parlamento nazionale. Discorso del cittadino G. G. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Unimportant.

118. G. M. D. Lo spirito di vertigine. Poema eroi-comico in cui si narra l'avvenimento del dì 1 Luglio 1820. Napoli, 1821. 8vo.
Typical and scarcely more inaccurate than many more prosaic efforts.

119. G. V.—A. S. A. R. Il Principe Ereditario del Regno delle Due Sicilie Vicario Generale. Riflessioni politiche sulla libertà della stampa. Napoli, 20 Settembre 1820. 4to.
In reply to Rosselli's pamphlet (*see* 179). *Perhaps the work of Father Ventura.*

GALANTI. *See* 80.

120. GALLUPPI, PASQUALE. Su la libertà individuale del cittadino. Opuscolo in cui si esamina la legge provvisoria de' 26 Luglio 1820 su la libertà della Stampa. Messina, 1820. 4to.
Lengthy discussion by a professional philosopher.

GIAMPIETRO. *See* 59.

121. GIORDANO, ANTONIO. Idee generali sulla scelta de' deputati e pensieri di costituzione per un governo rappresentativo. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Curious Christian democratic pamphlet.

GIULIANO. *See* 73.

122. [HOLLAND, LORD]. Letter on constitutional government to a Neapolitan (the Duke di Gallo) from an Englishman. London, 1818. 8vo.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

123. Indirizzo ai signori deputati al Parlamento adunati in Napoli capitale del regno delle Due Sicilie nell' anno 1820. Siracusa, 1820. 8vo.
Against religious toleration.

124. Indirizzo al P. N. [Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Important; issued by the Alta Vendita, and stating its political views.

125. I rappresentanti del popolo della regione lucana occidentale riuniti in Gran Dieta.
[Avellino or Salerno, 1820.] Fo.
The signature of Ricciardelli, later Secretary of the Alta Vendita, makes Salerno probable. Published within a few days of the revolution; of some interest.

126. L. G. C. Saggio di costituzione di Benjamin Constant. Prima versione italiana corredata di note relative alla Costituzione spagnuola. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Constant's text is mutilated and amplified. Bad typography and pagination; perhaps published periodically.

127. LANJUINAIS, COMTE. Vues politiques sur les changemens à faire à la constitution d'Espagne afin de la consolider spécialement dans le royaume des Deux Siciles.
Paris, 1820. 8vo.
Largely read and commented on at Naples.

128. LANZELOTTI, B... C... G... M.... Istruzioni per apprendenti carbonari ad uso della R... V... Partenope Rinascente. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Unimportant.

129. LANZELOTTI, B... C... G... M.... Istruzioni per maestri carbonari ad uso della R... V... Partenope Rinascente.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Unimportant.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

130. LANZELOTTI, ANGELO. Constituzioni politiche delle principali nationi. Napoli, 1820. 12mo.
Useful as giving the Neapolitan constitutions of 1799, 1808, *and* 1815. *Inaccurate.*

131. Lettera ad un amico in Chieti. [Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Unimportant; containing Neapolitan news for mid-September.

132. Lettera al Parlamento delle Due Sicilie.
Napoli [1820.] 8vo.
Of slight importance; urging constitutional amendment.

133. Lettre d'un constitutionnel napolitain à un ultra-royaliste étranger. Naples, Dec. 20, 1820.
Unimportant. Perhaps written by Prado.

134. LIPPI, C. Prime idee concernenti il miglioramento delle nostre istituzioni. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Far longer, but not more valuable, than the ordinary pamphlet of the period.

135. LONZI, ERMEDORO. Invito spartano alle belle di Napoli.
[Napoli, 1821.] 8vo.
Curious; written in February during war fever.

136. LUCORELLI, RAFFAELE. Lettera al signor Bianchi B... C... C... allievo di Solone. Sulla risposta alle pretenzioni de' Siciliani confutate.
Napoli, 24 Agosto 1820. 4to.
Unimportant; on Sicilian affairs.

137. LUCARELLI, RAFFAELE. Pretensioni de' Siciliani confutate da un Napolitano. [Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Unimportant; on Sicilian affairs.

138. M.... Des projets de l'Autriche sur l'Italie.
Paris, 1821. 8vo.
Unimportant. Appended is Poerio's speech of Dec. 8, 1820.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

M., GIUSEPPE. *See* Musso, 147, 148.

139. MANCINI, F. Discorso del tenente Mancini a suoi confratelli d' armi in occasione del giuramento. A spese del capitano cavalier De Angelis e del sottotenente Valboà. Napoli, 1820. 4to.
Characteristic Carbonaro pamphlet.

140. Manifesto del Governo delle Due Sicilie.
[Napoli, 1821.] Fo.
Parliament's protest against action of Congress of Laybach.

141. Manifesto della Giunta Provisoria di Governo al Parlamento nazionale. Napoli, 1820. 4to.
Apology of the Giunta, covering July-October 1820.

142. MASDEU, GIANFRANCESCO. Costituzione politica della monarchia spagnuola promulgata in Cadice nel Marzo del 1812, preceduta da tre lettere preliminari colle quali gli estensori di essa la diressero alle Corti. Tradotta in Italiano. [Napoli], 1820. 12mo.

143. MAZZA, STEFANO. Memoria al Parlamento nazionale.
Napoli, 30 Agosto, 1820. 4to.
Recommending constitutional amendment.

144. MELE, CARLO. La costituzione spagnuola esaminata secondo i principii della ragione e modificata secondo le circonstanze del regno delle Due Sicilie.
Napoli, 1821. 8vo.
Recommending constitutional amendment.

145. Mentore dei Carbonari, Il. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.

MIOLA. *See* 204.

146. [MORGARA, VITO]. Osservazioni sulla riforma de farsi alla costituzione della Spagna per addatarla al regno delle Due Sicilie. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Sufficiently described by title.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

147. [MUSSO, GIUSEPPE]. Pro memoria per gli signori deputati al Parlamento Nazionale. Vi si donno alcune nozioni sulla economia delle finanze sotto l' Amministrazione cessata il dì 6 Luglio.
Napoli, 13 Ottobre, 1820. 4to.
See next number.

148. [MUSSO, GIUSEPPE]. Secondo pro memoria per gli signori deputati al Parlamento Nazionale, in replica alle osservazioni del Ministero di finanze.
Napoli, 25 Ottobre 1820. 4to.
These two pamphlets are important as being Medici's apology for his administration.

149. N. N. Lettera d' un impiegato ad un suo passato compagno. Napoli, 1821. 8vo.
Unimportant.

150. N. N. La difesa del regno di Napoli promessa dal glorioso S. Gennaro. [Napoli, Feb. 1821.] 8vo.
Written during the war fever.

151. Naples et Laybach. Paris, Janvier 1821. 8vo.
Mostly made up of Neapolitan documents. See 77.

NICOLACI. *See* 156.

NICOLINI. *See* 182.

152. Nuovo statuto organico della Carboneria della R. Lucana Occidentale (Principato Citra) sanzionato nella gran Dieta dell' anno II. Salerno [1818?] 4to.
Of some interest.

153. OLIVIER-POLI, G. M. Cenno istorico su la rigenerazione dell' Italia meridionale in Luglio, 1820.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Loose statement generally favourable to the Pepes.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

154. Organizzazione del Potere Giudiziario, sanzionata dai Rappresentanti del Popolo Carbonaro della Luc. Occid. [Salerno, 1820?] 4to.

Interesting; perhaps earlier than 1820.

155. P. O. Brevi ricordi per i signori deputati che dovranno intervenire al gran Parlamento Nazionale nel dì primo del mese di Ottobre 1820. Napoli, 19 Agosto 1820. 4to.

Interesting for questions of trade and taxation.

156. P. S. R., O. S. N., A. S., Voce patriottica e nazionale de tre filantropi Messinesi. Napoli, Ottobre 1820. 4to.

Perhaps by Serafino Rocca, Ottavio Nicolaci, and another; deals with commercial and other interests of Messina.

157. Parere sulle costituzioni in generale ed in particolare sulle modificazioni da farsi alla costituzione spagnuola. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.

Unimportant.

158. PASCUCCI, TOMMASO. Ai deputati del parlamento napoletano. Memorie. Chieti, Luglio 1820. 4to.

Unimportant.

159. Patriottismo Europeo. [Napoli, 1820.] 8vo.

Unimportant.

160. Pièces inédites sur les affaires de Naples, précédées de réflexions. Paris, 1820. 8vo.

Slight.

161. PEPE, GUGLIELMO. Deux mots de réponse aux volumineux Mémoires publiés par le Général Carascosa, traduit de l'Italien. Paris, 1823. 8vo.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

162. Per la inaugurazione del G.·. O.·. al Rito Scozz.·. in Napoli. Discorso dell' Orat.·. nell' assemblea de' 13 Settembre 1820 (E.·. p.·.). [Napoli, 1820.] Fo.
Important for the secret societies.

163. PIGNATELLI-STRONGOLI, FRANCESCO. Cenno dei fatti accaduti nel regno di Napoli nei primi giorni di Luglio del 1820. [Napoli], 12 Luglio 1820. Fo.
Single sheet. Unimportant except for its author.

164. PIGNATELLI-STRONGOLI, FRANCESCO. Considerazioni strategiche sul sistema di difesa del regno di Napoli. Napoli, 1820. 16mo.
Inferior to Colletta's on same subject.

165. [PIGNATELLI-STRONGOLI, FRANCESCO]. Poche osservazioni sopra l' opuscolo del General Colletta intitolato: Pochi fatti su Gioacchino Murat. Napoli, 1820. 4to.
Published under initials F.P.S. Covers a few interesting points.

PRADO. *See* 133.

PRIMAVERA. *See* 71.

166. Progetti dell' Austria nell' Italia del Signor ***. Traduzione del francese. Napoli, 8vo. 1821.
Unimportant.

167. PUOTI, L. Alla gioventù del regno. [Napoli, 1820 or 1821.] 4to.
Violent democratic appeal; otherwise unimportant.

168. Quadro politico dell' Europa dal 1814 all' Agosto del 1820. Discorso per interrogazioni e risposte scritto in Napoli da un Oriundo della Provincia d' Aquila ed antico membro del Gran Consiglio Legislativo della Repubblica Cisalpina. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Unimportant.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

169. Quistioni preparatorie all' apertura del parlamento nazionale. Napoli, 1820. 2 vols. 8vo.
Of slight importance.

170. R. F. Pensieri sopra le modificazioni della costituzione di Spagna per adattarla al Regno delle Due Sicilie.
Napoli, 1820. 4to.
Perhaps by Fontanella. Unimportant.

171. RACIOPPI, FELICE. Al Parlamento Nazionale, petizione.
Avellino [1820]. Fo.
Against religious toleration.

172. Rapporto della commissione di legislazione al Parlamento nazionale sopra le scritture per ora esistenti, e riguardanti i Tenenti Generali D. Diego Naselli, e D. Riccardo Chourch (*sic*) in seguito de' disordini avvenuti in Palermo nel mese di Luglio 1820.
[Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Report on Sicilian affairs ordering the release of Church.

173. Rapporto del Ministro delle finanze al Parlamento nazionale. Anno 1820. [Napoli, 1820.] Fo.

174. Regione Irpina (Principato Ultra) A... G... D... G... M... D... U... I... N... E... S... G... A... D... N... P... S... T...e dell' ordine in generale. Ordone centrale di Avellino il I. del III. mese, anno II. (1 Settembre 1820, era volgare). S... S... S...
[Avellino, 1820.] Fo.
Minutes of provincial vendita; of some interest.

175. Risposta ad una diatriba del dì 11mo. Agosto del Inte. Gle. Fr. Pignatelli-Strongoli. [Napoli, 1820.] 8vo.

176. Risposta alla lettera di S. E. Signor Principe di Villafranca a S. E. Sig. Duca di Campo Chiaro Ministro di S. M. per le relazioni estere in Napoli.
[Napoli, 1820.] 8vo.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

177. Risposta e la difesa di Zurlo, La.
[Napoli, 1820.] 8vo.
Written as Zurlo's own defence, but obviously apocryphal.

ROCCA. *See* 154.

178. ROMOALDO, CASSITO. Catechismo di un B... C... in grado di Apprendente. Napoli, 1820. 4to.
Carbonaro rites.

179. ROSSELLI, GIUSEPPE, A.S.A.R. Il Principe Ereditario, Vicario Generale.
Napoli, 30 Luglio 1820. 4to.
On the press, attacking Zurlo ministry.

180. ROSSETTI, GABRIELE. Odi cittadine.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Mark the extreme of democratic violence. A number of other poems of Rossetti were printed anonymously.

181. [ROSSETTI, GABRIELE]. Alla difesa o cittadini.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Written in February at the time of the war fever.

182. [ROSSETTI, GABRIELE]. Notizie su la condotta politica di Giuseppe Zurlo. Seconda edizione con note dell' autore. L' autore consultando la sua memoria ed ajutato da quella de suoi amici ha creduto necessario aggiungere alcune note a queste notizie. Egli dichiara che non invocerà la legge contro coloro che multiplicassero l' edizioni di quest' opuscolo. [Napoli, 1820.] 8vo.
Nicola Nicolini perhaps collaborated. Violent attack on Zurlo. Important.

ROSSETTI, G. *See* 194.

183. RUFFO, CARDINAL, A.S.A.R. Il Principe Reggente. Rappresentanza del Cardinale Arcivescovo di Napoli.
Napoli, 1821. 4to.
Protest against liberty of the Press and suppression of ecclesiastical privileges.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

184. RUFFO, CARDINAL. A' signori deputati del parlamento. Indirizzo del Cardinale Arcivescovo di Napoli.
Napoli, 1820. 4to.
Against religious toleration.

185. SALERNO, NICOLA. Compendio della terapeutica costituzionale, osia ristretto ragionamento su la cura de' mali politici e legali nel nuovo governo costituzionale del regno di Napoli. Napoli [1820]. 4to.
Important pamphlet in support of the Zurlo ministry.

186. SALFI, F. L'Italie au XIX^e^ Siècle, ou de la nécessité d'accorder le pouvoir avec la liberté.
Paris, 1821. 12mo.
The chief interest of this important pamphlet is for the literary history of the Risorgimento.

187. [SOLOTOLLO, EUGENIO]. Rapporto dell' intendenza di Molise a sua eccellenza il signor presidente del Parlamento Nazionale sullo stato di quella provincia.
Napoli, 1820. Fo.
A few interesting details on provincial matters.

188. SANCHEZ, PAOLO. Del governo e delle amministrazioni.
Napoli, 1820. 3 vols.

189. SANSEVERINO, PLACIDO. Riflessioni alla nazione, al Parlamento, ed alla Maestà del Re.
Napoli, 1820. 4to.
Unimportant.

190. SASSO, BIASE. La guida del cittadino per gustare la felicità ossia il quadratò della vera cittadinanza.
Napoli, 1821. 8vo.
Unimportant.

191. Seconda osservazione sulla riforma politica di Napoli.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Veiled attack on Spanish Constitution.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

192. Siciliano alla nazione napoletana, Un.
[Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Unimportant; perhaps by Manciano.

193. SOLAI-BEMBI, GERARDO. Sulla riforma politica del regno di Napoli avvenuta nel dì 1 Luglio 1820. Lettera diretta a Monsieur Coumerglian in Marsiglia.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Narration favourable to Menichini.

194. Solitario della Majella, Il, alli signori deputati.
[Napoli, 1820. 8vo.]
Unimportant; perhaps by Rossetti.

195. TADDEII, GIOVANNI. Catechismo patriottico estratto delle opere di La Croix ed adattato al regno delle Due Sicilie. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Unimportant; from the French.

196. TAVASSI, PASQUALE. Istruzioni 2^do^. Gr. di M. Carb.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.

197. TAVASSI, PASQUALE. Istruzioni sul 1^o^. Gr. di Appr. Carb. redatto dal Gr. M. della R. V. all' O. di Napoli. Sotto il titolo distintivo: I liberi Pitagorici.
Napoli, 1820. 8vo.

198. Tavola della Gran Dieta C. straordinaria dell' anno III. della R. Lucana Occidentale. Salerno [1820?]. 4to.

199. TONELLI, PASQUALE. Breve idea della Carboneria, sua origine nel regno di Napoli, suo scopo, sua persecuzione, e causa che fa nascere la setta de' Calderari.
Napoli, 1820. 4to.
Useful for the subject.

200. [TORTORA, CAV.] Riflessioni su le finanze del regno di Napoli con appendice su la contribuzione diretta.
[Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Important for financial matters.

SECTION IV.—*continued*

201. Trame de' preti di Bisceglie contra la libertà, Le. [Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Unimportant; anti-clerical.

202. Tribù militare. Napoli, 1820. 4to.
Advocating conscription.

203. V. F. Sulla difesa del regno di Napoli. Napoli, Ottobre 1820. 12mo.
Unimportant; perhaps by Vincentio Ferrani.

204. VATOUT, J. Les gouvernemens représentatifs au Congrès de Troppau. Paris, 1820. 8vo.
Italian translation by Miola (Napoli, 1821).
On same lines as Bignon's more important pamphlet.

205. [VENTIGNANO, DUKE OF]. Osservazioni sulla rivoluzione di Napoli. Napoli, 20 Luglio 1820. 8vo.
Unimportant.

VENTURA. *See* 119.

206. Veterano della libertà. Progetto di modificazioni alla Costituzione delle Spagne presentato alla nazione napolitana. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Unimportant.

207. VILLAFRANCA, PRINCIPE DI. Lettera a S. E. Duca di Campo Chiaro. [Napoli, 1820.] Fo.
Chiefly Sicilian affairs.

208. Voce del cittadino, La. Napoli, 1821. 4to.

209. VULPES, GIO. BATTISTA. Catechismo costituzionale per uso del regno unito delle Due Sicilie con nuove aggiunte. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.

210. ZURLO, G. Rapporto sopra i libelli pubblicati contra di lui, seguito da un decreto di Sua Altezza Reale il Vicario Generale. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Sufficiently indicated in title.

ZURLO, G. *See* 177.

SECTION V

WORKS RELATING GENERALLY TO THE PERIOD 1805–1821

211. ANGELIS, FRANCESCO DE. Storia del regno di Napoli sotto la dinastia Borbonica. Coll' origine della rivoluzione francese; delle guerre, e trattati seguite tra le Potenze alleate, e la Francia insino alla pace generale di Vienna. Napoli, 1817-1836. 8 vols. 8vo.
Pretentious, voluminous, and worthless.

212. BALSAMO, P. Memorie inedite.
Palermo, 1845. 8vo.

213. BALSAMO, P. Memorie segrete sulla istoria moderna del regno di Sicilie. Palermo, 1848. 8vo.

214. BIANCHI, NICOMEDE. Storia documentata della diplomazia europea in Italia dell' anno 1814 all' anno 1861.
Torino, 1865. 8 vols. 8vo.
Of considerable value.

215. BIANCHINI, L. Storia delle finanze del regno di Napoli.
Napoli, 1859. 4to.
Third edit. Of great value.

216. BOTTA, C. Storia d' Italia.
Italia, 1826. 4 vols. 8vo.
Numerous other editions.

217. BOURGOING, F. DE. Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe pendant la révolution francaise.
Paris, 1865-1885. 4 vols. 8vo.

218. BUCHOLTZ, F. B. VON. Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinando I. aus gedruckten Quellen.
Wien, 1831-1838. 9 vols. 8vo.
Useful work; the ninth volume has a good selection of documents.

SECTION V.—*continued*

219. CACCIATORE, ANDREA. Esame della storia del reame di Napoli di Pietro Colletta dal 1794 al 1825.
Napoli, 1850. 2 vols. 8vo.
Largely drawn from Colletta; additional matter is generally unimportant.

220. CAGNAZZI, L. Saggio sulla popolazione del regno di Puglia ne' passati tempi e nel presente.
Napoli, 1820. 2 vols. 8vo.
Unimportant.

221. CAMPANELLA, TOMMASO. L' influenza massonica nella storia calabrese dal 1799 a' nostri giorni.
Catanzaro, 1896. 8vo.
Sketchy, but useful for a few details.

222. CANTÙ, CESARE. Della independenza italiana. Cronistoria.
Torino, 1875. 3 vols. 4to.
Vols. I. and II. contain useful material for the present subject.

223. CARRANO, FRANCESCO. Vita di F. Pepe.
Torino, 1851. 8vo.
Of slight importance.

224. CARRANO, FRANCESCO. Cenni biografici del Generale Guglielmo Pepe. Estratti dai N. 102, 103 e 104 dal Giornale *La Libertà Italiana.*
[Torino? 1856?] 12mo.
Slight sketch amplified in the following:

225. CARRANO, FRANCESCO. Vita di Guglielmo Pepe.
Torino, 1857. 8vo.
Useful; appended are a number of documents.

226. Carte segrete della polizia austriaca in Italia estratte dall' Archivio di Venezia e pubblicate per commissione di D. Manin, 1814-1848.
Capolago, 1851. 3 vols. 8vo.
Important but of uncertain authority, being a collection of police reports.

SECTION V.—*continued*

227. CASTLEREAGH, LORD. Correspondence, despatches, and other papers of Viscount Castlereagh, second Marquess of Londonderry.
London, 1851-1853. 12 vols. 8vo.
Important collection.

228. [CHODZKO, J. L. B.]. Recueil des traités, conventions et actes diplomatiques concernant l'Autriche et l'Italie.
Paris, 1859. 8vo.
Convenient to use with Martens and de Cussy.

229. CHURCH, E. M. Chapters in an adventurous life; Sir Richard Church in Italy and Greece.
London, 1895. 8vo.
Untrustworthy; the material from which this book has been elaborated has been turned to better and sounder use by S. Lane Poole. See 255.

230. COLLETTA, PIETRO. Storia del reame di Napoli dal 1734 sino al 1825. Paris, 1835. 2 vols. 8vo.
Numerous other editions; that by Horner, London, 1858, is referred to in the text. Few works of equal importance and reputation are so untrustworthy, often deliberately so.

231. COLLETTA, PIETRO. Opere inedite e rare.
Napoli, 1861, 1862. 2 vols. 12mo.
Including: a, *Memoria militare sulla campagna d' Italia,* 1815; b, *Aneddoti più notabili della mia vita;* c, *Documenti relativi alla vita; and other works. See Section IV.*
The same untrustworthiness detracts from all Colletta's work.

CONSALVI. *See* 234.

232. COPPI, A. Annali d' Italia dal 1750 sino ai giorni nostri.
Este, 1838-1840. 16 vols. 16mo.
Well-known work by a clerical writer.

SECTION V.—*continued*

233. CRAVEN, RICHARD KEPPEL. A tour through the southern provinces of the kingdom of Naples, to which is subjoined a sketch of the immediate circumstances attending the late revolution.
London, 1821. 8vo.
Useful for occasional details.

234. CRÉTINEAU-JOLLY, J. Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi.
Paris, 1896. 4to.
Disappointing Memoirs; of slight use for the present subject.

235. DUMAS, ALEXANDRE. I Borboni di Napoli.
Napoli, 1863. 10 vols. 8vo.
Gives a number of garbled documents; otherwise worthless. Dumas' other quasi-historical works, such as the Ultimi momenti di Gioacchino Murat, *need not be specified.*

DUVAL, AMAURY. *See* 250.

236. FARINI, L. G. Storia d' Italia dall' anno 1814 sino a' nostri giorni. Torino, 1854-1859. 2 vols. 8vo.

FILANGIERI. *See* Ravaschieri.

237. FROST, T. The secret societies of the European revolution. London, 1876. 2 vols. 8vo.
Sketchily written for general readers.

238. G. C. G. Itinerario da Napoli a Lecce e nella provincia di Terra d' Otranto nell' anno 1818.
Napoli, 1821. 2 vols. 8vo.
Unimportant; social and economic aspects.

G. D. F. *See* 247.

238A. GIAMPAOLO, S. C. Le memorie dei miei tempi.
Napoli, 1874. 8vo.
Of very slight historical value.

SECTION V.—*continued*

239. [GUILLAUME, F.]. Quinze années d'un proscrit. Paris, 1835. 4 vols. 8vo.
Published under pseudonym of Vaudoncourt.

240. HECKETHORN, CHARLES WILLIAM. The secret societies of all ages and countries. London, 1875. 2 vols. 8vo.
Uncritical and loosely put together.

241. HERVEY SAINT DENYS, MARQUIS D'. Histoire de la révolution dans les Deux Siciles depuis 1793. Paris, 1858. 8vo.

242. HORNER, SUSAN. A century of despotism in Naples and Sicily. Edinburgh, 1860. 12mo.
Unimportant.

243. L..., F. VON. Geschichte der neapolitanischen Kriege bis auf die neueste Zeit. Berol. 1821. 8vo.

244. LA FARINA, GIUSEPPE. Storia d' Italia dal 1815 al 1850. Torino, 1851. 6 vols. 8vo.

245. LANCELLOTTI, CARME. Mémoires historiques de Ferdinand I., roi des Deux Siciles. Florence, 1829. 8vo.
Translation from Italian original (Napoli, 1827).
Bourbonist production; unimportant.

246. LAURENT DE L'ARDÈCHE. Storia di Napoli illustrata da O. Vernet, voltata in italiano da A. Lissoni, e da esso cresciuta delle imprese militari delle soldatesche italiane. Torino, 1839. 8vo.
Translated from the French.

247. [LE COMTE, H. J.]. Mémoires d'un ancien capitaine italien sur les guerres et les intrigues d'Italie de 1806 à 1821. Trad. de l'Italien par l'auteur lui-même. Paris, 1845. 8vo.
Published under the initials G. D. F.

SECTION V.—*continued*

248. M. L. R. Saggio politico su la popolazione e le pubbliche contribuzioni del regno delle Due Sicilie al di qua del Faro. Napoli, 1834. 8vo.
Of slight authority, occasionally supplements Bianchini usefully.

MANIN. *See* 226.

249. MARTENS ET DE CUSSY. Recueil, manuel et pratique de traités, conventions et autres actes diplomatiques sur lesquels sont établis les relations et les rapports existant aujourd'hui entre les divers états et souverains du globe, depuis l'année 1760 jusqu'à l'époque actuelle.
Leipzig, 1846-1857. 7 vols. 8vo.

250. METTERNICH, PRINCE. Memoirs of Prince Metternich.
London, 1880. 5 vols. 8vo.
Indispensable work for the period.

251. MORISANI, CESARE. Ricordi biografici del generale Florestano Pepe.
Reggio di Calabria, 1892. 8vo.
Slight.

252. NICOLA, CARLO DE. Diario napoletano dal 1798 al 1825.
Archivio storico napoletano, beginning in Part II. for 1899, *unfinished. Invaluable for life of Naples during the period, but more important for early than late years.*

253. ORLOFF, COMTE GREGOR. Mémoires historiques, politiques et littéraires sur le royaume de Naples, publiés avec des notes et additions par Amaury Duval.
Paris, 1821. 5 vols. 8vo.
Most useful of the contemporary Memoirs.

SECTION V.—*continued*

254. PALMIERI, NICOLÒ. Saggio storico e politico sulla costituzione del regno di Sicilia infino al 1816, con un appendice sulla rivoluzione del 1820. Opera postuma di Nicolò Palmieri, con una introduzione e annotazioni di anonimo. Losanna, 1847. 8vo.

Largely drawn from Balsamo, useful for the relations between Sicily and Naples during the French conquest.

255. PALMIERI DE MICCICHÉ, MICHEL. Mœurs de la cour et des peuples des Deux Siciles.

Paris, 1837. 8vo.

256. PALMIERI DE MICCICHÉ, MICHEL. Pensées et souvenirs historiques et contemporains suivis d'un essai sur la tragédie ancienne et moderne et de quelques aperçus politiques. Paris, 1830. 2 vols. 8vo.

Scandalous but useful Memoirs of an eccentric Sicilian liberal.

257. PEPE, GUGLIELMO. Memoirs of General Pepe, comprising the principal military and political events of modern Italy, written by himself.

London, 1896. 3 vols. 8vo.

Indispensable, but unreliable.

258. POOLE, S. LANE. Sir Richard Church, Commander-in-chief of the Greeks in the War of Independence.

London, 1890. 8vo.

Short but useful narrative covering Church's proceedings in Italy.

259. RADOWSKI, COUNT. Cosi memorabili antichi e moderni del regno di Napoli ricavati dagli autografi del fu Conte Radowski. Seconda edizione notabilmente accresciuta.

Coblentz, 1842. 8vo.

Memoirs of some value, especially for 1820-1821.

SECTION V.—*continued*

260. RAVASCHIERI, TERESA. Il generale Carlo Filangieri, Principe di Satriano e Duca di Taormina.
Milano, 1902. 8vo.
Extremely unreliable recollections of Filangieri. Of more value for the later events of his life than for the Napoleonic period.

261. REUCHLIN, HERMAN. Geschichte Italiens von Gründung der regierenden Dynastien bis auf die Gegenwart.
Leipzig, 1859. 2 vols. 8vo.
Slight for what precedes 1846.

262. REUCHLIN, HERMAN. Geschichte Neapels während der letzten siebzig Jahre dargestellt am Leben der Generale Florestan und Wilhelm Pepe.
Nordlingen, 1862. 8vo.
Of no great importance.

263. RICCIARDI, F. A. Scritti e documenti varii di F. Ricciardi, preceduti della sua vita scritta da suo figlio Giuseppe e da un introduzione di L. Tarantini.
Napoli, 1873. 8vo.

264. RIVIELLO, RAFFAELE. Cronaca Potentina dal 1799 al 1882. Potenza, 1888. 8vo.
Of little more than local importance.

265. ROMEO, CAPITANO FRANCESCO. Lo specchio del disinganno presentato a sua Maestà Siciliana, alla Gran Brettagna, ed a' Sovrani Alleati; riflettente de' fatti politici della maggiore importanza, sinora non pubblicati.
Londra, 1820. 8vo.
Also an English trans. in same year. Work of a secret agent of Bentinck's. May rank with Canosa's Piffari *as the most curious and difficult of the pamphlets of the period. Of chief interest for Mary Caroline.*

266. ROSSETTI, WILLIAM MICHAEL. Gabriele Rossetti: a versified autobiography. Translated and supplemented by William Michael Rossetti. London, 1902. 8vo.
Worthless for facts unrelated to Rossetti.

SECTION V.—*continued*

267. SAINT ALBIN, A. DE. Les Francs-Maçons et les sociétés secrètes, suivi des actes apostoliques des souverains pontifes Clément XII., Benoit XIV., Pie VII., Léon XII., et Pie IX. Paris, 1867. 8vo.

268. SERRISTORI, COUNT L. Statistica del regno delle Due Sicilie (Dominii di quà del Faro). Firenze, 1839. 4to.
Excellent statistical work.

TARANTINI. *See* 262.

269. THIERS, ADOLPHE. Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire faisant suite à l'histoire de la révolution française. Paris, 1845. 21 vols. 8vo.

270. TIVARONI, CARLO. L' Italia durante il dominio francese. L' Italia durante il dominio austriaco. Torino, 1894. 5 vols. 12mo.

271. ULLOA, PIETRO CALÀ. Intorno alla storia del reame di Napoli di Pietro Colletta. Annotamenti. Napoli, 1877. 8vo.
Of some use, but not to be trusted.

272. VANNUCCI, ATTO. I martiri della libertà italiana dal 1794 al 1848; memorie raccolte. Milano, 1876. 16mo.
First edition, Firenze, 1848, contains less matter. Popular work.

VAUDONCOURT. *See* 239.

273. VESPOLI, G. F. Saggio politico s. rivoluzioni di Napoli. Napoli, 1824. 4to.
Unimportant.

274. Vita politica del Cavaliere D. Luigi de' Medici già Ministro Consigliere di Stato del Regno delle Due Sicilie. Parigi, 1832. 8vo.
Of little authority or use.

SECTION VI

Works relating to the Period 1805–1815

Alcalà. *See* 334.

275. B., V. C. de. Campagne des Autrichiens contre Murat en 1815. Bruxelles, 1821. 2 vols. 8vo.

Bazin. *See* 347.

276. Beauchamp, Alphonse de. Catastrophe de Murat, ou récit de la dernière révolution de Naples, seconde édition revue et augmentée de la relation historique du séjour de Murat à Toulon et en Corse ; de sa tentative en Calabre ; de son arrestation et de sa mort ; avec les pièces justificatives. Versailles, 1815. 8vo.
Giving all the best-known documents; not reliable.

277. [Beauchamp, Alphonse de]. Mémoires de Fouché, Ministre de la Police générale.
Paris, 1824. 2 vols. 8vo.
English trans., London, 1825. Written on Fouché's notes, but quite untrustworthy.

278. Belliard, Comte. Mémoires du Comte Belliard écrits par lui-même, recueillis et mis en ordre par A. Vinet.
Bruxelles, 1842. 3 vols. 12mo.
First volume useful for Murat.

279. Bianco, Giuseppe. La Sicilia durante l' occupazione Inglese (1806-1815). Palermo. 4to. 1902.
Useful and based on much unpublished material drawn from the archives of Palermo and Messina.

280. Bianco, N. Gli ultimi avvenimenti del regno di Gioacchino Murat (edita per cura di Ireneo Del Zio).
Melfi, 1880. 8vo.
Memoirs of an officer who served in the campaigns of 1814, 1815; of slight importance.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

281. BLAQUIÈRE, E. Letters from the Mediterranean, containing a civil and political account of Sicily, Tripoli, Tunis, and Malta; with biographical sketches, anecdotes, and observations illustrative of the present state of those countries and their relative situation with respect to the British Empire.

London, 1813. 2 vols. 8vo.

A few useful details on Anglo-Sicilian relations.

282. Bolletino delle sentenze emanate dalla suprema Commissione per le liti fra i già Baroni ed i Comuni.

See next number.

283. Supplimento del Bolletino della Commissione feudale.

Napoli, 1808-1859. 72 vols. 8vo.

See next number.

284. Bulletino delle ordinanze de' commissarii repartitori de' demanii ex feudali e comunali nelle province dei RR.DD. al di quà del Faro. In appendice degli atti eversivi della feudalità.

Napoli, 1858-1867. 24 vols. 8vo.
(Series unfinished.)

The three publications above contain the records of the Feudal Commission. Vol. lxxii. is the best working key to the whole, and to the five thousand bundles of MSS. in the Archives at Naples on which the volumes are founded. The whole forms a remarkable concentrated mass of matter relating to the feudal system.

BONIOTTI. *See* 419.

285. BOULAY DE LA MEURTHE, COMTE. Quelques lettres de Marie Caroline. Revue d'hist. diplom. Vol. ii.

Useful for the year 1805.

286. BOULGER, DEMETRIUS C. Lord William Bentinck.

Oxford, 1892. 12mo.

Unimportant for Mediterranean affairs.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

287. BROWNING, OSCAR. Hugh Elliot at Naples, 1803-1806. Eng. Hist. Review. Vol. iv.
Of some utility.

288. BROWNING, OSCAR. Queen Caroline of Naples. Eng. Hist. Review. Vol. ii.
Probably the best account of the English rule in Sicily.

289. BUNBURY, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR HENRY. Narratives of some passages in the great war with France from 1799 to 1810. London, 1854. 8vo.
Generally referred to as, Bunbury, Military Transactions. Fairly accurate and useful for the British operations, 1805-1810.

290. CANTÙ, CESARE. Murat e Beauharnais o l' Italia nel 1813-1814. Rivista universale, 1869. No. 9.

291. CAPIALBI, U. La fine di un re. Murat al Pizzo. (Testimonianze inedite.) Monteleone, 1894. 8vo.

292. CARABELLI, IGNAZIO. I calluniatori smascherati, ossia confutazione de' libelli pubblicati dall' ex generale Colletta e dal sedicente General Franceschetti sulla catastrofe di Murat nel 1815. Italia, 1826. 12mo.
Violent and loose; Carabelli's good defence against Colletta is much over-stated.

293. CASTAGNA, N. Della sollevazione d' Abbruzzo nell' anno 1814. Memorie storiche. Aquila, 1875. 12mo.

294. Causes politiques célèbres du xix^e. siècle; procés de Murat roi de Naples. Paris, 1827. 4to.

295. [CAVAIGNAC, MME.]. Les mémoires d'une inconnue publiés sur le manuscrit original, 1780-1816. Paris, 1894. 8vo.
Verbose record, with some interesting details for Murat's reign.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

296. CICCOTTI, L. Il brigantaggio in Basilicata da Fra Diavolo al 1811. Napoli, 1873. 8vo.

297. COCKBURN, LIEUT.-GEN. A voyage to Cadiz and Gibraltar, up the Mediterranean to Sicily and Malta in 1810 and 11. Including a description of Sicily and the Lipari islands and an excursion in Portugal.
London, 1815. 8vo.
A few interesting details for military matters in 1810.

298. Codice di commercio dell' Impero Francese adottato nel regno di Napoli per ordine di S. M. Edizione originale e sola uffiziale. Napoli, 1809. 8vo.

299. Codice penale tradotto d' ordine di Sua Maestà il re delle Due Sicilie per uso de' suoi stati. Edizione originale e sola uffiziale. Napoli, 1812. 8vo.

300. COLANGELI, F. A. Quadro dell' attuale stato ed amministrazione del regno di Napoli.
Napoli, 1809. 8vo.

301. COLANGELI, F. A. Ordine di giudizii civili giusta il testo de' codici di Proced. Civile, Napoleone, e di commercio. Napoli, 1809. 2 vols. 8vo.

302. COLLINGWOOD, G. L. N. A selection from the public and private correspondence of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, interspersed with Memoirs of his life.
London, 1828. 3 vols. 8vo.
Valuable for British Mediterranean policy, 1805-1810.

CONDOLEO. *See* 334.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

303. CONSALVI, CARDINAL. Corrispondenza inedita dei Cardinali Consalvi e Pacca nel tempo del Congresso di Vienna (1814-1815) ricavata dall' archivio secreto Vaticano corredata di sommarii e note preceduta da uno studio storico sugli stati d' Europa nel tempo dell' impero napoleonico e sul nuovo assestamento europeo e da un diario inedito del Mse. di San Marzano. (Edited by P. Ilario Rinieri.) Torino, 1903. 8vo.
Useful for Metternich's policy and the Papal Neapolitan negotiations.

304. Copia delle lettere originali del signor tenente generale Manhès che dimostrano la parte che ha avuto l' ajutante generale Janelli nella distruzione del brigantaggio delle Due Calabrie dal 1 Ottobre 1810 fino a tutto Marzo 1811. [Napoli, 1811.] 4to.
Useful for Manhès and Calabria.

305. COPPI, A. Saggio sulle rivoluzioni del regno di Napoli. Roma, 1815. 8vo.
Short sketch from a Papal point of view.

CORRACINI. *See* 356.

306. CORRIDORE, F. Per il soggiorno del Murat in Corsica. Torino, 1899. 8vo.
Written on a newly found proclamation of Verrières that adds nothing of any importance to the subject.

307. COURIER, PAUL LOUIS. Mémoires, correspondance et opuscules inédits. Paris, 1828. 2 vols. 8vo.
Vol. i. contains much interesting matter for the French military operations in Naples.

308. CRESCERI, BARON. Memorie segrete del Gabinetto di Napoli e di Sicilia. Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1892. Vol. cxxvii.
Scurrilous Memoirs; chiefly valuable owing to Helfert's learned annotations.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

309. DAVIDSON, MAJOR. History and services of the 78th Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs), 1793-1881; compiled from the manuscripts of the late Major Colin Mackenzie and official and other sources.
London, 1901. 2 vols. 4to.
A few details on Maida.

310. D' AYALA, MARIANO. Memoria storico-militare dal 1734 al 1815. Napoli, 1835. 12mo.
Of slight importance; unauthoritative.

311. Decisione della Corte speciale di Abbruzzo.
Aquila, 1814. 4to.

312. DEDEM, GÉNÉRAL DE. Un général Hollandais sous le premier Empire. Mémoires du général Bon. de Dedem de Gelder, 1774-1825. Paris, 1900. 8vo.
Useful for facts that came under the writer's observation, otherwise untrustworthy.

313. Della Sicilia e dei suoi rapporti coll' Inghilterra all' epoca della costituzione del 1812. Palermo, 1848. 8vo.

DEL ZIO. *See* 280.

314. Dernière campagne de l'armée franco-italienne en 1813 et 1814, suivi de mémoires secrets sur la révolution de Milan. Paris, 1815. 8vo.

315. DESVERNOIS, BARON. Mémoires du Général Baron Desvernois. Paris, 1898. 8vo.
Mons. Dufourcq's careful editing cannot redeem these hopelessly inaccurate Memoirs.

316. DU CASSE, A. Mémoires et correspondance politique et militaire du Roi Joseph, publiés, annotés, et mis en ordre. Paris, 1854. 10 vols. 8vo.
Copious collection, of the greatest value for the present subject; quoted as Joseph, Correspondence.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

317. DU CASSE, A. Mémoires et correspondance politique et militaire du Prince Eugène.
Paris, 1860. 10 vols. 8vo.
Valuable for the campaign of 1814.

318. DUFOURCQ, ALBERT. Murat et la question de l'unité Italienne en 1815. *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 1898.
Careful study, and useful.

319. DUMAS, LIEUT.-GÉNÉRAL COMTE MATHIEU. Souvenirs du Lieutenant Général Comte Mathieu Dumas de 1770 à 1836, publiés par son fils.
Paris, 1839. 3 vols. 8vo.
Useful for Joseph's reign in Naples.

320. DUMAS, LIEUT.-GÉNÉRAL COMTE MATHIEU. Précis des événemens militaires, ou essais historiques sur les campagnes de 1799 à 1814.
Paris, 1826. 19 vols. 8vo.
Valuable though incomplete work; for present subject see vols. xv. and xix.

321. DURET DE TAVEL. Séjour d'un officier français en Calabre, ou lettres propres à faire connaître l'état ancien et moderne de la Calabre, le caractère, les mœurs de ses habitants, etc. Paris, 1820. 8vo.
In English, London, 1822 *and* 1832. *Of some value.*

EUGÈNE, PRINCE. *See* 317.

322. EUSTACE, REV. J. C. A classical tour through Italy. An. MDCCCII. London, 1813. 4 vols. 8vo.
Popular but overrated work; for social aspects; unimportant.

FLEISCHMANN. *See* 377.

323. FONTANAROSA, V. La marina napoletana nel 1809 (Ricerche e documenti). Napoli, 1897. 8vo.
Of slight importance.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

324. FONTANAROSA, V. Studî sul decennio francese in Napoli (1806-1815). Napoli, 1901. 8vo.
Unimportant.

FOUCHÉ. *See* 277.

325. FRANCESCHETTI, GÉNÉRAL D. C. Mémoires sur les événements qui ont précédé la mort de Joachim Ier., Roi des Deux Siciles, par Franceschetti, ex-général, sortant du service de Naples; suivi de la correspondance privée de ce général avec la reine, Comtesse de Lipano (*sic*). Paris, 1826. 8vo.
Important but untrustworthy; published just before the trial of Franceschetti's action against Murat's executors to recover money.

326. FRANCESCHETTI, GÉNÉRAL D. C. Supplément aux Mémoires historiques sur la mort de Joachim Napoléon roi de Naples, ou réponse à M. Napoléon Louis Bonaparte. Paris, 1829. 8vo.
See preceding number; written after failure of Franceschetti's action.

327. FORTUNATO, G. Fra Diavolo. Roma, 1881. 12mo.

328. G..., M. DE. Notice historique sur M. le lieutenant général Charles Antoine Comte Manhès, extraite en grande partie des Archives du ministère de la guerre de France, et de la chancellerie de la guerre à Naples. Paris, 1817. 8vo.
Perhaps by Adjutant-Général Galdemard. Slight and sketchy.

GALDEMARD. *See* 328.

329. GALLO, DI. Memorie.
Archivio storico per le prov. napolet. 1888, vol. xiii.
Disappointing Memoirs.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

330. GALLOIS, LÉONARD. Histoire de Joachim Murat. Paris, 1828. 8vo.
Principal work of the sort, useful but unreliable.

331. GALT, JOHN. Voyages and travels in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811; containing statistical, commercial, and miscellaneous observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Serigo, and Turkey. London, 1812. 4to.
A few interesting details, but little of political importance.

332. GALVANI, CHARLES. Mémoires sur les événemens qui ont précédé la mort de Joachim Napoléon roi des Deux Siciles. Paris, 1843. 8vo.
Work of an eye-witness.

333. GALVANI, CHARLES. Nouveaux mémoires sur la fin tragique de Joach. Murat roi de Naples, illustrés de deux planches et d'une carte militaire de l'Italie. Paris, 1850. 8vo.

334. GASPARRI, G. La fine di un re. Murat al Pizzo (Testimonianze inedite.) Monteleone, 1894. 12mo.
Valuable for the contemporary accounts of Condoleo and Alcalà.

GELDER. *See* 312.

335. Gioacchino Murat e il suo patrimonio privato. Napoli, 1863. 8vo.

336. Gioacchino Murat o la storia del Reame di Napoli dal 1800 al 1815. Milano, 1839. 2 vols. 12mo.

337. [GODIN, A. J. L.]. Vie et aventures de Joachim Murat depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa mort. Paris, 1817. 12mo.
Scurrilous and not valuable.

338. GRECO, LUIGI MARIA. Annali di citeriore Calabria dal 1806 al 1811. Cosenza, 1872. 2 vols. 8vo.
Voluminous, but the best authority on the subject.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

339. GRECO, LUIGI MARIA. Storica narrazione intorno agli assalti ed allo assedio de' Francesi contro Amantea dal 1806 al 1807. Cosenza, 1844. 8vo.
Mostly incorporated in the Annali.

340. GRECO, LUIGI MARIA. Intorno al tentativo de' Carbonari nel 1813, storica narrazione. Cosenza, 1866. 8vo.

340A. GUARDIONE, F. Gioacchino Murat in Italia. Palermo, 1899. 16mo.
Unimportant.

341. [GUILLAUME, F. A.]. Histoire des campagnes d'Italie en 1813 et 1814 avec un atlas militaire. Londres, 1817. 2 vols. 4to.
Published under pseudonym of Vaudoncourt.

GURWOOD. *See* 428.

342. HAUTEROCHE, R. B. D'. Vie militaire en Calabre 1806-1809. Paris [1890?]. 12mo.
Privately printed; to judge from an article of Mons. Sorel, of no importance.

343. HELFERT, BARON VON. Joachim Murat, seine letzten Kämpfe und sein Ende. Mit Benützung von Schriftstücken des K. K. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archivs. Wien, 1878. 8vo.
Excellent work written on the original Austrian dispatches; useful corrective for the Italian accounts of 1813-1815.

344. HELFERT, BARON VON. Königin Karolina von Neapel und Sicilien im Kampfe gegen die französische Weltherrschaft, 1790-1814. Mit Benützung von Schriftstücken des K. K. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archivs. Wien, 1878. 8vo.
See next number.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

345. HELFERT, BARON VON. Maria Karolina von Oesterreich Königin von Neapel und Sicilien. Anklagen und Vertheidigung mit Benützung von Schriftstücken des K. K. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archivs.
Wien, 1884. 8vo.
An avowed Ehrenrettung, *or apology, of Mary Caroline; yet learned, temperate, and always worthy of close attention. Baron Helfert's work on modern Italy, taken as a whole, stands in a class by itself.*

346. HELFERT, BARON VON. Ueber den Ursprung der Carbonari.
Beil. z. *Wiener Abendpost* nr. 223 v. 28 Sept. 1877.
Arguing the Calabrian origin of the Carbonari.

HELFERT. *See* 308.

347. Histoire des sociétés secrètes de l'armée et des conspirations militaires qui ont eu pour objet la destruction du gouvernement de Bonaparte. Paris, 1815. 8vo.
Probably by Nodier, though Quérard ascribes it to Vincent Lombard, and according to Barbier, Rigomer-Didier, Bazin, and Lemare collaborated. Generally fanciful, but with some substratum of fact.

348. HOUSSAYE, HENRI. 1815. La première restauration. Le retour de l'île d'Elbe. Les Cent Jours.
Paris, 1899. 12mo.
A few details on Murat in 1815.

348A. HUGO, JOSEPH LÉOPOLD SIGISBERT COMTE. Mémoires.
Paris, 1823. 3 vols. 12mo.
Campaigning in Naples; unreliable.

349. IMBERT DE SAINT AMAND. Marie Amélie et la Cour de Palerme, 1806-1814. Paris, 1891. 8vo.
Sketchy.

INCONNUE. *See* 295.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

350. Indice de' Diritti e prestazioni che i communi del regno di Napoli hanno dedotto di esigersi dagli ex-baroni, e de' quali ha giudicato la Commissione feudale.
Napoli, 1812. 8vo.
Catalogue of feudal rights abolished by the Feudal Commission.

351. JEAFFRESON, J. C. The Queen of Naples and Lord Nelson; an historical biography based on MSS. in the British Museum, and on letters and other documents preserved among the Morrison MSS.
London, 1889. 2 vols. 8vo.
Controversial and intemperate. Useful but untrustworthy, and written on insufficient materials. Follows Mary Caroline to her death.

352. JOHNSTON, R. M. Lord William Bentinck and Murat.
Eng. Hist. Rev. xix.
To be read with M. Weil's work on the same subject. See 426.

JOSEPH, KING. *See* 316.

353. Journal of an officer in the King's German Legion; comprising an account of his campaigns and adventures in England, Ireland, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, Malta, Sicily, and Italy. London, 1827. 12mo.

KOCH. *See* 373.

KOCH, DE. *See* 408.

354. KOTZEBUE, AUGUSTUS VON. Travels through Italy in the years 1804 and 1805.
London, 1806. 4 vols. 12mo.
Translation from German original. Of slight importance for social aspects.

355. L. D.... Journal historique sur la campagne du Prince Eugène en Italie pendant les années 1813 et 1814. Par L. D... capitaine attaché à l'etat major du Prince.
Paris, 1817. 8vo.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

356. LA FOLIE, C. J. Histoire de l'administration du royaume d'Italie pendant la domination française, précédée d'un index chronologique des principaux événements concernant l'Italie depuis 1792 jusqu'en 1814 et d'un catalogue alphabétique des Italiens et des Français au service de ce royaume. Paris, 1823. 8vo.

Published under pseudonym of Corracini; new edition under following title:

357. LA FOLIE, C. J. Mémoires sur la Cour du Prince Eugène et sur le royaume d'Italie pendant la domination de Napoléon Bonaparte, par un Français attaché à la cour du Vice-roi d'Italie. Paris, 1824. 8vo.

358. LAMARQUE, GÉNÉRAL. Mémoires et souvenirs du Général Maximilien Lamarque, publiés par sa famille. Paris, 1835. 2 vols. 8vo.

Disappointing for Naples.

359. [LAUGIER, C. DE.]. Fasti e vicende dei popoli italiani dal 1801 al 1815, o Memorie di un uffiziale per servire alla storia militare italiana. Firenze, 1830. 5 vols. 8vo.

360. LAURENZE, L. A. F. Essai sur Naples en 1804, avec des notes indiquant les changemens les plus importants survenus depuis cette époque dans cette ville intéressante. Francfort-sur-le-Main, 1820. 16mo.

Social and political views; of slight importance.

361. LECKIE, G. F. An historical survey of the foreign affairs of Great Britain, with a view to explain the causes of the disasters of the late and present wars. London, 1808. 8vo.

Interesting for details relating to Sicily, but untrustworthy and, as a Quarterly reviewer wrote, "not remarkable for diffidence."

LEMARE. *See* 347.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

362. LEMMI, FRANCESCO. Gioacchino e le aspirazione unitarie nel 1815. Archivio storico napoletano, xxxvi.
On similar lines to, but less valuable than, Dufourcq's article on same subject.

363. LEMMI, FRANCESCO. La fine di Gioacchino Murat. Archivio storico italiano (Vieusseux), ser. v. vol. xxvi. 1890.
Unimportant; proves only that the rumour of the alleged conspiracy spread, not that it was true; adds nothing to the subject.

LOMBARD. *See* 347.

363A. LUMBROSO, A. Gioacchino Murat e le aspirazioni unitarie italiane del 1815. Roma, 1899. 8vo.

LUMBROSO. *See* 382.

MACERONI. *See* Macirone.

364. MACIRONE, FRANCIS. Interesting facts relating to the fall and death of Joachim Murat, King of Naples; the capitulation of Paris in 1815; and the second restoration of the Bourbons; original letters from King Joachim to the author, and of his persecution by the French Government. Third edition. London, 1817. 8vo.
Important, but on his own showing the writer is untrustworthy.

365. MADELIN, LOUIS. Fouché, 1759-1820. Paris, 1901. 2 vols. 8vo.
Valuable work; of considerable use.

366. MAHAN, A. T. The influence of sea power upon the French revolution and empire, 1793-1812. London, 1893. 2 vols. 8vo.
Although the Mediterranean is somewhat neglected, valuable for commercial matters, especially Chapter XVIII.

367. MARESCA, B. Gioacchino Murat e il Congresso di Vienna del 1815. Archivio storico napoletano, vol. vi.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

368. MARESCA, B. I due trattati stipulati della Corte Napoletana nel Settembre 1805.
Archivio storico napoletano, vol. xii.
Both useful articles.

369. MARMONT, MARSHAL. Mémoires du Maréchal Duc de Raguse de 1792 à 1832, imprimés sur le manuscrit original de l'auteur avec le portrait du Duc de Reichstadt, celui du Duc de Raguse et quatre facsimile de Charles X., du Duc d'Angoulême, de l'Empereur Nicolas et du Duc de Raguse.
Paris, 1857. 9 vols. 8vo.
Vol. iii. contains D'Amitia incident; otherwise unimportant for Neapolitan affairs.

370. MARULLI, COUNT GENNARO. Ragguagli storici sul regno delle Due Sicilie dall' epoca della francese rivolta fino al 1815. Napoli, 1845. 3 vols. 8vo.

371. MASCI, ANGELO. Discorso sull' origine, i costumi e lo stato attuale degli Albanesi del Regno di Napoli.
Napoli, 1807. 4to.

MASDEA. *See* 400, 430.

372. MASSARELLA, PIETRO PAOLO. Il decennio funesto de' Napoletani. Napoli, 1816. 8vo.
Violent Bourbonist account; unimportant.

373. MASSÉNA. Mémoires de Masséna rédigés d'après les documents qu'il a laissés et sur ceux du dépôt de la guerre et du dépôt des fortifications.
Paris, 1850. 7 vols. 8vo.
Edited by General Koch.
Useful when following official papers; otherwise very untrustworthy. Vol. v. deals with the invasion of Naples.

374. MAURICE, J. F. The Diary of Sir John Moore.
London, 1904. 2 vols. 8vo.
Useful for period of Moore's command in Sicily.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

375. MILLET, G. Voyage en Italie dans l'année 1815. Paris, 1817. 8vo.
A few interesting observations at the time of Murat's fall.

376. MINTO, Countess of. A Memoir of the Right Honourable Hugh Elliot. Edinburgh, 1868. 8vo.
Partial, but useful.

377. MIOT DE MÉLITO. Mémoires du Comte Miot de Mélito. Paris, 1858. 3 vols. 8vo.
English transl. London, 1881, is referred to in text. Edited by General Fleischmann. Important for Joseph's reign.

378. MIOT DE MÉLITO, COMTE FRANÇOIS. Rapport général sur la situation du royaume de Naples pendant les années 1806 et 1807 présenté au roi en son conseil d'Etat par le Ministre de l'Intérieur le 28 Mars, 1808. Naples, 1808. 4to.

379. MONNIER, MARC. Histoire du brigandage dans l'Italie méridionale. Paris, 1862. 8vo.
The chapter on Calabria under the French kings is loosely put together from Botta, Quintavalle, Colletta, and Montefredine. Unauthoritative.

380. MONTEFREDINE, FRANCESCO. Memorie autografe del Generale Manhès intorno a' briganti. Napoli, 1861. 12mo.
Political pamphlet chiefly concerned with Garibaldian matters.

MOORE, SIR JOHN. *See* Maurice, 374.

381. MURAT, COMTE. Murat Lieutenant de l'Empereur en Espagne, 1808; d'après sa correspondance inédite et des documents originaux. Paris, 1897. 8vo.
Valuable for Murat prior to acceptance of throne of Naples.

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382. MURAT, JOACHIM. Correspondance de Joachim Murat, chasseur à cheval, Général, Maréchal d'Empire, Grand Duc de Clèves et de Berg (Juillet 1791-Juillet 1808). Turin, 1899. 8vo.
Edited by Baron Lumbroso. Valuable down to 1808, *at which point publication appears to be suspended.*

383. NAPOLÉON. Correspondance de Napoléon Ier. publiée par l'ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III. Paris, 1858. 32 vols. 8vo.
Indispensable.

384. NAPOLÉON. Lettres inédites de Napoléon Ier. Collationées sur les textes et publiées par Léonce de Brotonne. Paris, 1898. 8vo.
Fifteen hundred additional letters.

385. NEMPDE, GÉNÉRAL. Journal historique de l'expédition de Capri faite par l'armée franco-napolitaine pendant le mois d'Octobre 1808. Naples, 1809. 4to.
By the same author, an account of the siege of Gaëta, where he was captured. All Nempde's publications are very scarce.

386. NIGRIS, G. DE. Vita e militari gesta di Gioacchino Murat. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.

NODIER. *See* 347.

387. Notizie sulle vite dei più famigerati capi briganti delle due Calabrie. [Napoli, 1811.] 4to.
Of some use for Manhès and Calabria.

PALLAIN. *See* 415.

387A. PALUMBO, A. Maria Carolina, Regina delle Due Sicilie. Napoli, 1877. 8vo.

388. PASQUIER, E. D. Histoire de mon temps. Mémoires du Chancellier Pasquier publiés par M. le Duc d'Audiffret Pasquier. Paris, 1894. 5 vols. 8vo.
Of slight use for Naples.

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389. PIGNATELLI-STRONGOLI, FRANCESCO. Memorie intorno alla storia del regno di Napoli dall' anno 1805 al 1815. Napoli, 1820. 8vo.
Incomplete and untrustworthy though of some use.

390. PLANET DE LA FAYE. Le Prince Eugène en 1814. Documents authentiques en réponse au Maréchal Marmont. Paris, 1858. 8vo.
Fourth ed. Valuable collection of dispatches largely reproduced by Du Casse.

391. Processo compilato nel tribunale straordinario di Napoli per l' esplosione di polvere da guerra, avvenuta nel palazzo abitato dal ministro della polizia generale. Napoli, 1808. 4to.
Official report of the trial.

392. [QUINTAVALLE, COLONEL]. Notizia storica del Conte Carlo Ant. Manhès scritta da un antico uffiziale dello stato maggiore del sudetto generale Manhès nelle Calabrie. Napoli, 1846. 8vo.
Revised by Manhès; an apology, but of considerable value.

RAGUSE. *See* 369.

393. REHFUES, P. J. Gemählde von Neapel und seinen Umgebungen. Zurich, 1808. 3 vols. 8vo.
Excellent work for social aspects of the period.

394. RICCIARDI, G. Relazione autentica delle fazione operate in Calabria nel 1815 da re Gioacchino Murat. Archivio storico italiano, 1876. Series iii., vol. xxiv.
Of slight importance.

RIGOMER-DIDIER. *See* 347.

RINIERI. *See* Consalvi, 303.

395. RIVAROL, AUGUSTE DE. Notice historique sur la Calabre pendant les dernières révolutions de Naples. Paris, 1817. 8vo.
Good for Calabria.

SECTION VI.—*continued*

396. RODINO. Narrazione. Archivio per le prov. Napol. vi. 259.

Partisan attack on Rodio, of very doubtful value.

397. ROEDERER, P. L. Œuvres du Comte P. L. Roederer, publiées par son fils le baron A. M. Roederer ancien Pair de France, tant sur les manuscrits inédits de l'auteur que sur les éditions partielles de ceux de ses ouvrages qui ont déjà été publiés, avec les corrections et les changements qu'il y a faits postérieurement. Paris, 1853. 8 vols. 4to.

Indispensable for reign of Joseph.

398. ROEDERER, P. L. Rapporto generale sulla situazione del Regno di Napoli negli anni 1806 e 1807 presentato al Re nel suo Consiglio di Stato dal Ministro dell' Interno il dì 28 Marzo 1808. Napoli, 1808. 4to.

399. [ROLLY, MME.]. Vie de Joachim Murat et relation des événements politiques et militaires qui l'ont précipité du trône de Naples. Paris, 1815. 8vo.

Unimportant.

400. ROMANO, G. Ricordi Murattiani, L' arresto e il supplicio di G. Murat, narrazione del canonico T. A. Masdea con altri documenti. Pavia, 1890. 4to.

One of the numerous republications of Masdea's account first printed by the Swiss Westphal in 1828, *and even at the present day recurring as* newly discovered *every few years.*

401. S. J... Dernière campagne de l'armée franco-italienne sous les ordres d'Eugène Beauharnais en 1813 et 1814, suivie des mémoires secrets sur la révolution de Milan du 20 Avril 1814 et les deux conjurations de 1815; la campagne des Autrichiens contre Murat; sa mort tragique, et la situation politique actuelle des divers Etats d'Italie; précédé d'une notice historique sur Eugène Beauharnais. Paris, Lugano, 1817. 8vo.

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402. SALICETI, C. Rapporto del ministro della polizia generale sulle congiure ordite nell' anno 1807, contro l' armata francese nel regno di Napoli e contra la persona e gli stati di S. M. Giuseppe Napoleone.
[Napoli, 1807.] 4to.
Published after the amnesty, is best supplemented by comparison with Nicolà.

SAN MARZANO. *See* Consalvi, 303.

403. SASSENAY, MARQUIS DE. Les derniers mois de Murat. Le guet-apens du Pizzo. Paris, 1896. 12mo.
Reviving a long-discredited theory; unreliable.

404. SAVARY, DUC DE ROVIGO. Mémoires du Duc de Rovigo (M. Savary) écrits de sa main pour servir à l'histoire de l'Empereur Napoléon. Paris, 1828. 4 vols. 8vo.
Unreliable; useful for relations of Napoleon and Murat.

405. [SAVELLI, P. M.]. Souvenirs historiques de la Légion Corse dans le royaume de Naples. Paris, 1851. 8vo.
Not trustworthy, but good for details of warfare in Calabria.

406. SCHIRMER, FRIEDRICH. Feldzug der Oesterreicher gegen König Joachim Murat im Jahre 1815.
Prag, 1898. 8vo.
Good but technical military history; written from an Austrian standpoint.

407. SCHLITTER, H. Briefe Murat's an Savary.
Wien, 1889. 8vo.

408. SCHOELL, FRÉDÉRIC. Histoire abrégée des traités de paix entre les puissances de l'Europe depuis la paix de Westphalie, par feu M. de Koch. Ouvrage entièrement refondu, augmenté et continué jusqu'au Congrès de Vienne et aux traités de Paris de 1815.
Paris, 1818. 15 vols. 8vo.
Voluminous, not always trustworthy, useful for some details of Napoleonic period, but on the whole obsolete.

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409. SCHOELL, FRÉDÉRIC. Recueil de pièces officielles destinées à détromper les Français sur les événements qui se sont passés depuis quelques années.
Paris, 1816. 9 vols. 8vo.
See above; of slight use for Naples.

410. SCLOPIS, F. La domination française en Italie, 1800-1814. Paris, 1861. 8vo.

411. SÉGUR, COMTE DE. Histoire et mémoires.
Paris, 1873. 7 vols. 8vo.
Useful for reign of Joseph.

412. [SERIEYS, A.]. Vie publique et privée de Joachim Murat. Paris, 1816, 1817. 12mo.

413. SPORSCHILL, JOHANN. Feldzug der Österreicher gegen Joachim Murat i. J. 1815.
Braunschweig, 1844. 8vo.
Unimportant.

414. Tableau des membres composant la R.·. L.·. de Joseph la Concorde, O.·. de Naples.
Naples, 5813 [1813]. 8vo.
Valuable for history of secret societies.

415. TALLEYRAND, PRINCE DE. Correspondance inédite du Prince de Talleyrand et du roi Louis XVIII. pendant le Congrès de Vienne, publiée sur les manuscrits conservés au dépôt des affaires étrangères, avec préface, éclaircissements et notes par M. G. Pallain.
Paris, 1881. 8vo.
Valuable collection.

416. THOMPSON, W. H. Sicily and its inhabitants. Observations made during a residence in that country in the years 1809 and 1810. London, 1813. 4to.

417. TRAVALLI, GIUSEPPE. Documenti su lo sbarco, la cattura e la morte di re Gioacchino Murat al Pizzo.
Palermo, 1895. 8vo.

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Second edition. Good work of the sort.

419. TUROTTI, FELICE. Storia delle armi italiane dal 1794 al 1815 con prefazione e note di Pietro Boniotti.
Milano, 1855. 3 vols. 8vo.

420. TURQUAN, JOSEPH. Les sœurs de Napoléon. Les princesses Elisa, Pauline et Caroline.
Paris, 1896. 12mo.
Scandalous, unauthoritative, but occasionally useful.

421. ULLOA, PIETRO CALÀ. Della sollevazione delle Calabrie contro a' Francesi. Roma, 1871. 8vo.
Of some use, but very uncritical.

422. ULLOA, PIETRO CALÀ. Marie Caroline d'Autriche et la conquête du royaume de Naples en 1806.
Paris, 1872. 8vo.

423. UNGARO, GIOACCHINO, DUCA DI MONTAGESI. Prospetto economico—politico—legale del regno di Napoli.
Napoli, 1807. 4to.
Only one volume has been found, but there may be four or five. Verbose and not valuable.

VAUDONCOURT. *See* 341.

424. VERRI, ALESSANDRO. Storia della repubblica francese cisalpina e cispadana, ruina della repubblica veneta, brigantaggio nelle Calabrie, proclamazione in Campidoglio della repubblica romana. Milano, 1862. 8vo.

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425. [VIGNOLLE, COMTE M. DE]. Précis historique des opérations militaires de l'armée d'Italie en 1813 et 1814 par le chef de l'état major général de cette armée. Paris, 1817. 8vo.

VINET. *See* 278.

426. WEIL, M. H. Le Prince Eugène et Murat, 1813-1814. Opérations militaires, négotiations diplomatiques. Paris, 1902. 5 vols. 8vo.
Important work setting out many documents. Better for military than political matters, and marred by great inaccuracy.

427. WELDEN, FEHR. L. VON. Der Krieg der Oestreicher in Italien gegen die Franzosen in den Jahren 1813 und 1814. Gratz, 1853. 8vo.
Useful for Bellegarde's operations.

428. WELLINGTON, DUKE OF. The dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington during his various campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, the Low Countries, and France. Compiled from official and other authentic documents by Colonel Gurwood. London, 1844. 8 vols. 8vo.
See next number.

429. WELLINGTON, DUKE OF. Supplementary despatches and memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington. London, 1858. 22 vols. 8vo.
Only a few references, but those important for Naples.

430. [WESTPHAL, J. H. C.]. Spaziergang durch Kalabrien und Apulien. (Gefangennehmung, Haft, Todesurtheil und Begräbniss des Generals J. Murat erzählt von Kanonikus D. T. A. Masdea.) Konstanz, 1828. 8vo.
Masdea's relation is accessible in numerous other more recent publications.

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431. WILSON, SIR ROBERT. Private diary of travels, personal services and public events, during mission and employment with the European armies in the campaigns of 1812, 1813, 1814, from the invasion of Russia to the capture of Paris. London, 1861. 2 vols. 8vo.
Some useful details on the military operations of 1814.

432. WINSPEARE, D. Storia degli abusi feudali.
Napoli, 1811. 4to.
Good and useful work by one of the feudal Commissioners.

433. ZAHN, DR. VON. Von König Joachim Murat's Ende, drei Berichte des General-Itendenten der österr. Occupations-Armee in Neapel an Graf Franz von Saurau betreffs des wahren Sachverhaltes in der Angelegenheit von König Joachim's Sendung und Verhaftung.
Steiermärkische Geschichtsblätter. I, 171. Gratz.
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434. ZAHN, DR. VON. König Murat's Gefangnehme.
Historisches Jah-buch, 1880, 512. Münster.
The letters merely prove the existence, not the truth, of a rumour. The theory of the conspiracy against Murat supported by Zahn, Sassenay, and Lemmi has been effectively answered by Dufourcq and Lumbroso.

435. ZUCCHI, GENERAL CARLO. Memorie, pubblicate per cura di Nicomede Bianchi.
Milano, Torino, 1861. 12mo.
Useful for Murat-Beauharnais negotiations in 1814.

436. ZURLO, G. Rapporto sullo stato del regno di Napoli dopo l' avvenimento al trono di Sua Maestà il Re Gioacchino Napoleone per tutto l' anno 1809. Presentato al re nel suo Consiglio di Stato dal Ministro dell' Interno. Napoli, 1811. 4to.
Important.

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Napoli [1812]. 4to.
Important; dealing specially with the abolishment of the feudal system.

SECTION VII

WORKS RELATING TO PERIOD 1815-1821

438. ANTONELLI, ALESSANDRO. Memorie storiche del regno di Napoli. Rivoluzione del 1820. Aquila, 1848. 8vo.

439. Archives diplomatiques pour l'histoire du temps et des Etats. Année 1821.
Stuttgart et Tubingen, 1821. 8vo.
Inaccurate work; based on statements of Pignatelli-Strongoli.

440. [BERTHOLDI, BARON]. Memoirs of the secret societies of the South of Italy, particularly the Carbonari. Translated from the original MSS.
London, 1821. 8vo.
Most important work on the subject.

441. [BEYLE, HENRI]. Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817, ou esquisses sur l'état actuel de la société, des mœurs, des arts, de la littérature, etc., de ces villes célèbres.
Paris, 1817. 8vo.
Indispensable for social aspects.

442. [BORRELLI, PASQUALE]. Appendice alla bibliografia vi si contengono. 1. I pensieri miscellanei di Pirro Lallebasque. 2. Il saggio su 'l romanzo istorico di Pietro Colletta. Coblentz, 1840. 8vo.
Lallebasque was a pseudonym of Borrelli's. Violent attack on Colletta, but not of much importance.

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443. [BOURG, E. T.]. Constitution et organisation des Carbonari, ou documents exacts sur tout ce qui concerne l'existence, l'origine, et le but de cette société secrète. Paris, 1821. 8vo.

Written under pseudonym of St. Edmé. Fanciful work of little value.

BULOZ. *See* 465.

444. [CANOSA, PRINCE OF]. I piffari di montagna, ossia cenno estemporaneo di un cittadino imparziale sulla congiura del Principe di Canosa e sopra i Carbonari. Epistola critica diretta all' estensore del foglio letterario di Londra. Corretta ed accresciuta. Dublino, Ottobre 1821. 8vo.

An earlier edition, Dublino, Maggio del 1820, *contains much less matter.*

Apology of Canosa; a tangle of falsehood and exaggeration, nearly impossible to use for historical purposes. Included with this are the two following numbers.

445. [CANOSA, PRINCE OF]. Risposta al no. cxliv. del giornale napoletano intitolato *l'Amico della Costituzione* de' 2 Gennaio del corrente anno.

Published with 444.

Of no special importance.

446. [CANOSA, PRINCE OF]. Analisi sopra un articolo della *Minerva Napolitana.* Epistola dell' autore di piffari di montagna ad un suo amico. Parma ai 20 di Novembre 1820.

Published with 444.

Of slight interest, see No. 8, *vol. i.* Minerva Napolitana.

447. CARASCOSA, GÉNÉRAL. Mémoires historiques, politiques et militaires sur la révolution du royaume de Naples en 1820 et 1821, et sur les causes qui l'ont amenée; accompagnés de pièces justificatives la plupart inédites. Londres, 1823. 8vo.

Important, but very untrustworthy.

SECTION VII.—*continued*

448. CAUCHARD D'HERMILLY, G. F. Des Carbonari et des fendeurs charbonniers. Paris, 1822. 8vo.

449. CHURCH, SIR RICHARD. Personal narrative of the revolution at Palermo in the year 1820.
Monthly Magazine, 1826.
Spirited and authoritative account.

450. Codice per lo regno delle Due Sicilie.
Napoli, 1819. 2 vols. 8vo.
Revised and amended Codes of Joachim.

451. COLLETTA, CARLO. Diario del parlamento nazionale delle Due Sicilie negli anni 1820 e 1821. Illustrato dagli atti e documenti di maggiore importanza relativi a quelle discussioni. Napoli, 1864. 2 vols. 4to.
Record of the Carbonaro Parliament from the official minutes.

D., COMTE. *See* 455.

452. Decisione della Gran Corte speciale di Napoli specialmente delegata da S.M. (D.G.) nella causa contro i rivoltosi di Monteforte ed Avellino per la ribellione in detti luoghi scoppiata nel 2 di luglio 1820.
Napoli, 1822. 4to.
Trial of Morelli, Silvati, and sixty-three others, see next number.

453. Decisioni della Gran Corte Speciale di Napoli specialmente delegata da S.M. (D.G.) proferita contro dei rei contumaci, nella causa cosìdetta dei rivoltosi di Monteforte. Napoli, 1823. 4to.
Trial of Pepe, Carascosa, De Conciliis, Minichini, and other defaulters.

454. Decisione emessa della G. C. speciale di Napoli nel dì 29 Settembre 1821, per la causa del barbaro e premeditato omicidio commesso nella persona del Direttore di Polizia D. Francesco Giampietri. Napoli, 1821. Fo.

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Diario del Parlamento. *See* 451.

455. [DUVAL, HENRI]. Précis historique sur les révolutions des royaumes de Naples et de Piémont en 1820 et 1821; suivi de documens authentiques sur ces événemens, et orné d'une carte pour servir à l'intelligence des opérations militaires. Paris, 1821. 8vo.
Published under pseudonym of Comte D... Useful but unreliable.

456. FONTANAROSA, VINCENZO. Il Parlamento nazionale, 1820-21. Roma, 1900. 8vo.
Of slight importance.

457. HAREL, F. A. Pièces officielles et inédites sur les affaires de Naples précédées de réfléxions. Paris, 1820. 8vo.

LALLEBASQUE. *See* 442.

458. MORGAN, LADY. Italy. London, 1821. 2 vols. 4to.
Social; unimportant.

459. MITTI, F. S. Sui moti di Napoli nel 1820.
La vite italiana nel Risorgimento. (Bemporad) ser. i. vol. i.
Unimportant.

460. P. G. Avvenimenti memorabili, sentenza e morte di Gioacchino Murat. Firenze, 1830. 8vo.
Based on Colletta and Macirone, but generally useful.

461. PEPE, GUGLIELMO. Relation des événements politiques et militaires qui ont eu lieu à Naples en 1820 et 1821, adressée à S.M. le Roi des Deux Siciles.
The Pamphleteer, London, 1824, vol. xxiii. Useful; apology for the part played by Pepe in the revolution.

462. PEPE, LEONIDA. Lettre sur la dernière révolution de Naples; sur ses causes, ses chefs, ses incidents et sa catastrophe. Paris, 1821. 8vo.

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463. [REGNAULT-WARIN, J.]. Les Carbonari ou le livre de sang. Paris, 1820. 2 vols. 12mo.
Fantastic.

463A. ROMANO, LEONARDO. Difesa per D. Francesco Nicola De Matheis sospeso intendente della Calabria citeriore. nella Corte Suprema di Giustizia. Napoli, 1830. 4to.

SAINT EDMÉ. *See* 443.

464. SALVO, MARQUIS DE. Réfléxions sur les dernières révolutions de l'Europe. Londres, 1824. 8vo.
Unimportant.

465. WITT, JEAN. Mémoires secrets relatifs à l'Etat de la révolution du Piémont, de l'esprit qui règne en Italie et de ses sociétés secrètes. Paris, 1831. 2 vols. 8vo.
Translated from German by A. Bulez? An untrustworthy jumble of fact and romance.

466. ZURLO, G. Rapporto per gli affari di Sicilie. [Napoli, 1820.] 4to.
Exculpating F. Pepe.

INDEX

OF NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES

(*For topics see chapter heads*)

Aberdeen, Lord, i. 268-270, 277-280, 292
Abruzzese, i. 3, 6
Abruzzi, i. 4, 9, 71, 144, 145, 323, 325, 327, 349
Acerno, i. 18
à Court, i. 330, 335, 404; ii. 17, 50, 51, 67, 72, 87, 88, 108, 109, 112, 119, 122, 125, 126, 130, 136
Acri, i. 139, 140
Acton, i. 49, 52, 65, 66, 118, 168, 169
Addington, i. 55
Adige, i. 288-290
Adriatic, i. 80
Æschylus, i. 11
Agar de Mosbourg, *see* Mosbourg
Agostino, Fra, i. 323
Agrigentum, i. 9
Ajaccio, i. 392
Albanians, i. 4
Alcalà, i. 399, 403
Alexander, Czar, i. 70, 73, 313, 334; ii. 15, 16, 74, 110-115, 126
Alexandria, i. 170
Alopaüs, ii. 113
Alquier, i. 59, 64, 67, 68, 70
Amantea, i. 137, 141-144, 250
Amato, i. 121-124
Ambrosio, *see* D'Ambrosio
Amherst, i. 235-239
Amiens, i. 55, 59
Anacapri, i. 200
Ancillotti, i. 330
Ancona, i. 285, 316, 322, 340, 351, 354, 362, 363, 365, 366, 368
Angevins, i. 4
Annichiarico, i. 32; ii. 58-63
Ansalone, ii. 123
Antinous, i. 9
Antrodoco, pass of, ii. 132, 133
Apollo, i. 9
Appian Way, i. 5
Aquila, i. 97, 373; ii. 132
Aquino, *see* D'Aquino
Archipelago, i. 57
Arcis-sur-Aube, i. 314
Arco Felice, i. 383
Arcovito, i. 327; ii. 77
Arezzo, i. 355, 363-368
Aristophanes, i. 11
Ascoli, Duke of, ii. 72, 85
Asia Minor, i. 57
Aspern, i. 209
Aspre, *see* D'Aspre
Atlas, i. 10
Atratina, i. 109
Aubusson, d', Lafeuillade, i. 202
Augusta, Princess, *see* Beauharnais
Augusta, i. 184
Austerlitz, i. 70, 72, 81
Austria, i. 59, 61
Avellino, i. 145; ii. 71, 76, 77, 80-86, 135
Aversa, i. 86
Aymé, i. 245, 246
Azores, i. 343

Baciocchi, Elise, *see* Bonaparte Felix, i. 286
Baia, i. 211, 383; ii. 120
Bajano, ii. 82, 83
Balatscheff, i. 313, 314
Balearic Islands, i. 184
Barbara, i. 396-398, 401
Bari, i. 2, 56; ii. 61
Barletta, i. 56, 104
Basento, i. 98
Basilicata, i. 97

Bastard, Capt., i. 394-396
Bastia, i. 388-390, 393-395
Bathurst, Lord, i. 292
Baudus, de, i. 387
Bauffremont, i. 350
Bausan, i. 199, 210, 211; ii. 100
Bautzen, i. 265, 266
Bavaria, King of, i. 278
Bayonne, i. 181, 185, 186
Beauharnais, Augusta, Princess, i. 298
  Eugène, i. 83, 182, 204, 257-259, 265, 266, 275, 286-291, 294, 296, 298-302, 309-312, 315, 318, 328
  Hortense, i. 204
  Josephine, *see* Bonaparte
Bedford, Duke of, i. 344, 345
Begani, ii. 55, 100
Bellegarde, i. 290, 293, 294, 298-301, 308, 309, 311, 312, 314, 318, 321, 328
Belliard, i. 190, 258, 259, 267, 375, 380; ii. 116
Belmonte, i. 232, 233
Benedict XIV., ii. 29
Benevento, i. 332; ii. 53, 77
Benincasa, i. 250, 251
Bentinck, i. 261-265, 268, 275-280, 291-293, 305-309, 311-314, 324, 327, 329, 330, 376; ii. 27, 34, 47, 50, 51, 56, 57
Berezina, i. 257
Berg, i. 193
Berlin, i. 268
Bernadotte, i. 70, 103
Bernalda, i. 98
Bernstorff, ii. 113
Berry, Duke of, ii. 65, 109
  Duchess of, ii. 65
Berthier, i. 67, 267
Beyle, ii. 66
Bianchemani, ii. 31
Bianchi, General, i. 337, 388, 361, 362, 365-374, 379, 380, 382, 384, 385; ii. 4, 46, 55
  of Bajano, ii. 83
Bignon, ii. 114
Blancard, i. 388, 389
Blaniac, Mme. de, i. 155
Blücher, i. 268, 289
Boehme, i. 233
Bologna, i. 273, 274, 285, 291, 312, 316, 317, 339, 356, 364-366
Bonaparte, Caroline, *see* Murat
  Elise, i. 286, 295
  Jerome, i. 351
  Joseph, i. 15, 73, 82-84, 86, 88, 94, 100-105, 113, 131, 147, 149-161, 167, 168, 172, 181-188, 197, 204, 214
Bonaparte, Josephine, i. 191, 192, 229
  Letizia, i. 344, 381
  Louis, i. 182, 183, 204
  Lucien, i. 183, 261
  Napoleon, i. 40, 52-54, 57-61, 64, 69, 70, 77, 80-83, 87, 88, 104, 105, 118, 149, 151-155, 159, 163, 168, 170-175, 181-185, 188, 201-206, 212, 216, 217, 219, 228, 229, 234, 237-239, 243-247, 256-260, 265-270, 272, 274, 275, 280, 281, 287, 289, 296, 297, 309, 310, 314, 315, 318, 320, 321, 328, 342-351, 367, 386, 387, 390, 391
  Pauline, i. 331, 343, 351, 381
Borghese, Pauline, *see* Bonaparte
Borgoforte, i. 288, 290, 298-302, 354, 358, 360
Borodino, i. 256
Borrano, i. 323
Borrelli, P., i. 222; ii. 33, 98-100, 105, 106, 118, 128, 136
Bourbons, i. 82
Bourcard, i. 111
Bovino, Duke of, ii. 100
Briganti, i. 16
Brindisi, i. 5, 56, 62, 173, 237; ii. 61
Brougham, ii. 73
Brune, i. 190, 387
Bruno, i. 165, 166
Brutii, i. 4
Burghersh, i. 382
Byron, ii. 73

Cadiz, i. 64, 117
Calabria, i. 2, 3, 4, 12, 35, 74, 87, 88, 92-95, 104, 120, 121, 127, 138, 141, 172, 247, 249
  Duke of, i. 83, 84, 88, 91, 263, 306; ii. 34, 65, 67, 81, 85-90, 95, 99, 104, 120, 124, 125, 127, 128, 130-132, 135
  Duchess of, i. 50; ii. 65, 89, 90, 131
Calabrians, i. 3, 6
Caligiuri, i. 95, 69
Camerino, i. 368
Cammerata, i. 141
Campanella, Cape, i. 199
Campanians, i. 3
Campbell, i. 346, 381, 385
Campobianco, i. 326
Campochiaro, i. 336, 337, 339-341, 346-348, 352, 360; ii. 49, 85, 109-112, 116-118, 120
Campotanese, i. 89, 90, 130
Campredon, i. 109, 178
Canada, i. 53
Cancellier, i. 123, 171

Canosa, the elder, i. 84
the younger, i. 136, 164, 167, 179, 213; ii. 47, 48
Capaccio, ii. 123
Capobianco, i. 252
Capodimonte, i. 330
Capo d'Istria, ii. 113, 127
Caprara, i. 182
Capri, i. 113, 136, 164-166, 198-200
Capua, i. 10, 86, 95, 380; ii. 32, 33, 134-136
Carabelli, i. 393-395
Carafa, i. 367
Carascosa, i. 284, 294, 295, 299-302, 304, 310, 315, 316, 327, 328, 354, 357-368, 374, 382; ii. 4, 78-86, 92, 101, 108, 120, 122, 123, 130, 131, 133-135
Carbone, i. 138, 171
Cardito, i. 60, 61
Cariati, i. 259, 271, 313, 336, 337, 340, 360; ii. 110
Carignano, i. 258; ii. 49, 121
Caroline, Princess of Wales, i. 345
Carpi, i. 361, 362
Carriero, ii. 80
Casa Lanza, treaty of, i. 382; ii. 4, 55
Duke of, *see* Bianchi
Casalmaggiore, i. 299, 300
Casalnuovo, i. 28
Casa Vicentini, ii. 133
Caserta, i. 145
Cassano, i. 89, 130, 137
Duchess of, i. 13
Cassetti, ii. 31
Cassone, i. 370, 371
Castelciccala, i. 347; ii. 110
Castel del Uovo, i. 99
Castel di Sangro, i. 375; ii. 133
Castellamare, i. 76, 167
Castellane, i. 191, 192
Castelnuovo, i. 105
Castignano, i. 28
Castlereagh, i. 279, 280, 292, 293, 311-314, 329, 330, 335-338, 341, 345; ii. 108, 115, 116
Castrone, i. 164, 234
Castrovillari, i. 253
Catanzaro, i. 4, 93, 126-128
Caulaincourt, i. 267, 275
Cavaignac, i. 172, 242
Ceccaldi, i. 389
Cento, i. 362
Cephalonia, i. 213
Cerchiara, *see* Pignatelli
Cerigo, i. 213
Cervinara, i. 27
Cesena, i. 356, 366, 367
Champagne, Marquis de, ii. 30
Champagny, i. 182
Champaubert, i. 296
Championnet, i. 15, 34, 40
Charles III., i. 24; ii. 29
IV., i. 39, 46; ii. 67
VIII. of France, i. 15
Archduke, i. 68, 71, 209
Charybdis, i. 52
Chiaja, i. 383
Chieti, i. 369-371, 374
Church, Sir R., i. 201 *note*; ii. 59 61-63, 121, 122
Cianciulli, i. 84, 148, 152
Cimitile, ii. 110
Circello, i. 184; ii. 50, 52, 112
Cirò, i. 129
Civita Ducale, ii. 133
Civita Vecchia, i. 285
Civitella del Tronto, i. 323
Clarke, i. 203
Clary, Désirée, i. 103
Julie, i. 103
Clavière, ii. 29
Clement XII., ii. 29
Cobenzl, i. 66
Colletta, i. 201 *note*, 228, 272, 284, 318, 327, 354, 382, 394; ii. 4, 12, 123, 130
Colletti, ii. 100
Collingwood, i. 48, 110, 117, 118, 174, 175, 212, 218, 233
Come, i. 10
Compère, i. 90, 124-126
Compli, i. 323
Conciliis, De, ii. 78-83, 86, 90
Conflenti, i. 129
Consalvi, i. 338; ii. 64, 111
Constans, i. 7
Constant, ii. 114
Constantine, i. 7
Constantinople, i. 5, 57, 170
Conversano, i. 29
Corfu, i. 57, 65, 74, 173-175, 183, 213, 237
Corigliano, i. 130
Corsica, i. 388, 390
Cortona, i. 364
Corunna, i. 185
Cosenza, i. 91, 93, 101, 128, 130, 137, 139, 141-144, 250, 253
Cosmao, i. 174
Cotrone, i. 31
Courier, i. 90, 100
Craig, i. 68, 70-76, 169
Crassus, i. 121
Crati, i. 141
Crete, i. 57
Croton, i. 5, 20
Cybele, i. 9, 10

Damas, i. 61, 72, 77, 88-91
D'Ambrosio, i. 161, 284, 302, 327, 354, 357-362, 369; ii. 81, 131, 135
D'Amitia, i. 234, 235
Dante, i. 9, 16
D'Aquino, i. 327, 359, 369-374
Dardanelles, i. 57
D'Aspre, i. 380
Daure, i. 248; ii. 33, 116
Davoust, i. 256
De Dedem, ii. 12
Dedon, i. 133, 178
De Filippi, ii. 82, 86
Delfico, i. 16, 26; ii. 85, 100, 105
De Michele, i. 128, 130, 141, 142, 144
Demosthenes, i. 6
De Ritis, ii. 96
De Rosa, ii. 76
Despagne, i. 145
Desvernois, ii. 12
Diana, i. 9, 10
Diocletian, i. 14
Dissemburg, i. 202
Donadieu, i. 388, 389
Donop, i. 235
Donzelot, i. 134, 173, 213
Dragonetti, i. 222; ii. 11, 105
Dresden, i. 266-268
Drummond, i. 170, 184
Duckworth, i. 170
Duhesme, i. 86, 95
Dumas, i. 99, 100, 150, 151
Dumouriez, i. 190
Durand, i. 264
Durer, ii. 26
Duroc, i. 267

Eckmühl, i. 209
Egypt, i. 52-56, 80, 184
Eisenach, i. 270
Elba, i. 342-348
Elliot, i. 59-63, 66, 67, 74-76, 84, 118, 119, 169
Endymion, i. 9
Enza, i. 294, 299, 302
Erfurt, i. 58, 269
Essling, i. 209
Eugène, *see* Beauharnais
Euripides, i. 11
Exmouth, Lord, i. 384

Faenza, i. 366
Fagan, i. 330, 335
Faro, i. 239, 240
Ferdinand, King, i. 10, 15, 25, 33, 38, 40, 42-46, 48, 51, 65-67, 77, 84, 169, 184, 241, 263, 278, 280, 312, 330, 338, 379, 382, 393, 403, 404; ii. 3, 5, 6, 29, 46-58, 64-67, 71, 72, 78, 81, 84-90, 94-96, 100, 101, 107-112, 115, 117-120, 126-128, 133, 135
Ferdinand of Arragon, i. 24
Ferdinand VII., of Spain, i. 315; ii. 78
Fermo, i. 322
Ferrao, ii. 100
Ferrara, i. 274, 354, 357-359
Fesch, i. 381
Filangieri, Gaetano, i. 16
  Carlo, i. 18, 161, 284, 327, 336, 337, 358; ii. 81, 131, 134
Filomarino, i. 166
Fiorillo, i. 11
Fiumefreddo, i. 141, 144
Florence, i. 286, 355, 359-368
Floridia, Duke of, i. 141
  Duchess of, i. 45, 46; ii. 6, 54, 65, 66, 75, 90, 108
Foggia, i. 2
Foligno, i. 355
Fontainebleau, treaty of, i. 331, 342
Forli, i. 366
Fouché, i. 205, 272, 273, 275, 328, 394
Fox, C. J., i. 183, 184
Fox, General, i. 135, 140, 169
Fra Diavolo, i. 32, 77, 97, 111-113, 136-138, 144, 145
Francavilla, ii. 63
Franceschetti, i. 389, 391, 392, 398, 401
Francis, Emperor, i. 46, 61, 73, 295, 302, 334, 337; ii. 16, 71, 110, 113, 115
Francis, Grand Duke, i. 294
Francis, Hereditary Prince, *see* Calabria, Duke of
Frederick, ii. 22
Frederick William, ii. 16, 113, 115, 126
Friedland, i. 168
Frimont, i. 360, 362, 365, 366; ii. 132
Fusaro, i. 43

Gaëta, i. 75, 86, 95, 105-110, 112-116, 131-135, 144, 382-384, 394; ii. 55
  Bishop of, i. 107
Gagliardi, ii. 77
Galdi, ii. 101
Gallo, i. 64, 66, 67, 73, 148, 152, 219, 260, 264, 312, 313, 316, 335, 337, 338, 346-348, 375, 382; ii. 49, 85, 110, 112, 121, 136
Gantheaume, i. 173-175, 183
Gardanne, i. 138
Garibaldi, i. 15
Garigliano, i. 2, 71, 86, 113; ii. 130

Gennaro, i. 14, 15
Genoa, i. 286, 292, 310, 321, 331
Gentz, ii. 7, 74, 75, 113
George, Prince Regent, i. 337
Geppert, ii. 133
Germans, i. 4
Gernaliz, i. 128, 130, 137-139
Giampietro, ii. 128, 129
Giannone, i. 16
Gibraltar, i. 54
Gifflenga, i. 287
Giotto, i. 16
Gober, i. 362
Golowkin, ii. 113
Gonsalvo, i. 15
Good Hope, Cape of, i. 53
Gordon, i. 391
Goths, i. 4
Gran Sasso, i. 2
Gravina, i. 98
Great Britain, i. 61, 80
Greece, i. 5, 57
Greek Empire, i. 5
Greeks, i. 6, 7
Gregory Nazianzen, i. 10, 11
Grenier, i. 239, 241, 242, 300-302
Grenoble, i. 347
Gualtieri, Fortunato, i. 129
  Nicolà, *see* Pane di Grano
Guariglia, i. 112, 136, 141
Guastalla, i. 299, 301, 302
Gubbio, i. 355
Guida, ii. 77
Guiscard, i. 19
Guise, i. 34

Hamilton, i. 50, 52, 59
Hardenberg, i. 340; ii. 113
Hautpoul, d', i. 199
Hawkesbury, *see* Liverpool
Hellenes, i. 5
Hercules, i. 9
Hesse, Prince of, i. 71, 75, 105-110, 113, 116, 131-133, 166, 168, 171
Hetzendorf, i. 332, 333
Heytesbury, *see* à Court
Hobhouse, ii. 73
Holland, Lord, i. 345
Hopes, i. 155
Hotz, i. 133, 134
Hyde de Neuville, i. 335

Imola, i. 365, 366
India, i. 10, 53, 54
Infantado, i. 399; ii. 75
Ionian Islands, i. 172
Ischia, i. 112, 210-212, 384
Isernia, ii. 133
Isis, i. 8
Ithaca, i. 213
Itri, i. 111

Jablonowsky, i. 403, 404; ii. 54
Jah, i. 8
Januarius, *see* Gennaro
Jefferson, i. 218
Jehovah, i. 7
Jemmappes, i. 190
Jena University, ii. 74
Jerome, *see* Bonaparte
Jesi, i. 368
Jiovine, i. 165
Joachim, *see* Murat
Jonah, i. 9
Jones, i. 264
Joseph, *see* Bonaparte
Jourdan, i. 173, 185, 324
Jove, i. 7, 8
Junot, i. 185, 195
Jupiter, i. 8
Juvenal, i. 10

Kaunitz, i. 61
Kempt, i. 124, 125
Klagenfurt, ii. 124
Königsberg, i. 258
Kotzebue, ii. 74
Krüdener, Mme. de, ii. 15, 16
Kumæ, i. 5, 383

Labrador, i. 334
Lacour, i. 108
Lacy, i. 64-67, 70-75
La Ferronays, de, ii. 113
Laforet, i. 392
Lagonegro, i. 89, 101, 137, 138, 172
Lagoscuro, i. 357, 359
Lallemand, i. 387
Lamarque, i. 140, 199, 200
Langlade, i. 388, 389
La Rothière, i. 296
Lauria, i. 35, 138, 139
Lauzun, ii. 29
Lavauguyon, i. 226, 245, 272, 322
Lavello, i. 177, 178
Lavrieno, ii. 79, 80
Laybath, ii. 115-119, 126, 127
Lecce, i. 2; ii. 61, 62
Lecchi, i. 88, 284, 354, 356, 368, 370, 372; ii. 31, 32
Leghorn, i. 164, 306, 307
Legnago, i. 288
Leipzig, i. 268
Leopold, Prince, i. 209, 233, 384, 385; ii. 4, 6
Leveson-Gower, i. 64
Licosa, i. 137
Ligne, i. 47

Lipona, *see* Murat
Liri, i. 380
Liverpool, Lord, i. 55, 292, 329, 337, 341
Livron, i. 226, 295, 310, 354, 355, 359, 363, 364, 369
Llandaff, i. 345
Lombards, i. 4, 19
Lombardy, i. 331, 353
Longobardi, i. 142
Louis XIV., i. 24
XV., i. 39
XVI., i. 59
XVIII., i. 388
Lowe, Hudson, i. 136, 199-201
Lucanians, i. 4
Lucera, i. 4
Lully of Majorca, ii. 25
Lunéville, i. 55, 59
Lutzen, i. 265

Macchiaroli, ii. 77
Macchiavelli, i. 16
Macedonio, ii. 85
Macerata, i. 322, 368-374; ii. 73, 77
Macfarlane, i. 201
Macirone, i. 394-396
Mack, i. 69
Madrid, i. 193
Maghella, i. 224, 226, 245, 272, 324, 351; ii. 33, 34, 46
Magna Græcia, i. 5
Maida, i. 121-126
Mallet, ii. 30
Malta, i. 54-56, 58, 65
Mandarini, i. 138.
Manfredi, ii. 128
Manhès, i. 248-253, 325, 351, 353, 380, 384
Manthoné, i. 43
Mantua, i. 288-290
Maratea, i. 142
Marches, i. 316, 322, 323, 327-329, 340, 351
Marcone, i. 31
Marengo, i. 40, 52, 55
Maria Louisa, i. 229, 234, 331
Maria Theresa, i. 46
Marienswerder, i. 258
Marmont, i. 234
Martin, i. 235
Mary, Virgin, i. 9, 10
Mary Caroline, Queen, i. 39, 40, 46-52, 58-70, 73-77, 84, 94, 110, 118, 164-171, 179, 209, 232-239, 261-264, 332-334; ii. 29
Masaniello, i. 34
Masdea, i. 405
Masséna, i. 68, 70, 85-88, 98-100, 105, 108, 114, 131-139, 141, 146, 150, 151, 196, 237, 243
Matera, i. 97, 98
Matthews, i. 345
Medici, i. 327; ii. 48, 51, 64, 70-72, 124
Mediterranean, i. 51-56, 58
Mercato, i. 33, 43, 51, 145, 168
Mercogliano, ii. 80
Mercy, ii. 113
Mergellina, ii. 128
Merville, i. 362
Messina, city of, i. 62, 75, 76, 118, 120, 169, 170, 174, 184, 237, 240, 242
Strait of, i. 87, 88, 91, 118, 120, 128, 172, 173, 232, 236-243
Metternich, i. 195, 203, 228, 229, 259, 261, 265-271, 277, 278, 313, 314, 320, 321, 328, 329, 332, 334-341, 346, 352, 360, 379, 395; ii. 3, 4, 14, 16, 54, 67, 72-75, 109-115, 126, 127
Michael Angelo, i. 16
Mier, i. 246, 259-261, 265, 293, 294, 307, 311, 314, 336-339, 346, 348, 351, 352
Mignano, i. 380
Milan, i. 60, 286, 353, 354
Mileto, i. 171
Millet de Villeneuve, i. 294, 295, 354
Mincio, i. 288-290, 294, 298, 301, 302, 311
Minichini, ii. 77, 79, 80, 82, 86, 89-92, 122, 131
Miollis, i. 245, 285
Miot, i. 83, 100, 150, 155, 163
Mirabeau, ii. 29
Mirabelli, i. 137, 142-144
Miseno, i. 211
Modena, i. 302, 316, 357, 358, 360-362
Mohr, i. 362; ii. 132
Mola di Gaëta, i. 108
Molano, i. 35
Moliterno, i. 235
Monte Cassino, i. 12, 162
Monte Corvino, i. 18
Monte del Papa, i. 130
Monteforte, ii. 76, 80-82, 84, 88, 135
Montefusco, i. 32
Monte Grillo, i. 383
Monteleone, i. 93, 141, 171, 210, 326, 400, 402
Montemilone, i. 369-372, 381
Monte Secco, i. 109
Monte Vergine, i. 145, 162
Monti, ii. 40
Montigny, i. 325
Montmirail, i. 296
Montrond, i. 226

Moore, i. 127 *note*, 135, 169, 170, 173, 185
Morano, i. 90
Moreau, ii. 30
Morelli, ii. 79, 80, 83, 89, 90, 135
Mosbourg, Agar de, i. 214, 249, 311, 375
Mosca, i. 167, 168
Moscow, i. 256, 257
Murat, Caroline, i. 194, 195, 202, 226, 228, 245-247, 256, 258, 279, 283, 311, 324, 332, 343, 351, 352, 375, 380-385; ii. 6, 34, 67
Joachim, i. 52, 58, 163, 183, 185, 188-214, 218, 226-229, 239-247, 256-260, 264-318, 321-407; ii. 34

Naples, city of, i. 3, 5, 11, 13, 16, 18, 80
Napoleon, *see* Bonaparte
Napoletano, General, ii. 84, 86, 90, 92
Narbonne, ii. 116
Naselli, i. 84; ii. 52
Nassau, i. 202
Natali, i. 392
Neapolis, i. 5
Neapolitans, i. 6, 7, 10, 11
Neco, i. 171
Negri, i. 357
Neipperg, i. 277-279, 362, 365-370, 374, 379, 380, 382, 385; ii. 4
Nelson, i. 40, 50, 52, 55, 69
Nesselrode, ii. 113
Netti, ii. 135
Ney, i. 257
Nicastro, i. 121, 129, 250
Nicholas, Grand Duke, ii. 113
Nicolai, ii. 105
Nile, i. 55
Nocera, ii. 84
Nola, i. 2, 283; ii. 77, 79-81, 83
Nugent, i. 273, 285, 294, 295, 298-303, 308, 315, 317, 361, 363-365, 373; ii. 46, 55, 56, 71, 81, 82, 88
Nunziante, i. 171, 402-404, 406; ii. 83, 84, 86

Occhiobello, i. 354, 357, 358, 360, 362
Ollendorf, i. 270
Orlando, tower, i. 160
Orléans, Duke of, ii. 29
Osmiana, i. 257
Otello, i. 393, 394 *note*
Otranto, i. 56, 57; ii. 61
Ottavj, i. 98, 392, 395
Oxford, Lord, i. 345

Pæstum, i. 5, 20
Paget, i. 64
Palæologus, i. 4
Palermo, i. 161, 174, 175; ii. 122
Palestrina, i. 16
Palmi, i. 240, 241
Palmieri, i. 166
Panaro, i. 357, 358, 360, 362, 365
Panchaud, ii. 29
Pane de Grano, i. 128, 129, 138-140, 171
Papasodero, i. 129, 140
Parafante, i. 142, 250, 251
Parisi, ii. 52, 121, 130
Parma, i. 294, 300, 315, 331
Partanna, *see* Floridia
Partouneaux, i. 210
Paterno, i. 14
Patria, i. 43
Pecchia, i. 22
Pedace, i. 129
Pedrinelli, *see* Petrinelli
Pentemele, i. 241
Pepe, Florestano, i. 284, 304, 327, 384; ii. 122, 123, 130
Guglielmo, i. 284, 302-304, 308, 317, 327, 328, 331, 361, 362, 379; ii. 12, 71, 72, 76-78, 81, 84, 86-95, 100, 101, 106-108, 116, 118, 122-124, 129-136
Pérignon, i. 211, 246, 283
Permon, Mme., i. 163
Pernice, i. 401, 402
Persia, i. 53
Perugia, i. 365
Pesaro, i. 355
Peschiera, i. 288, 290
Peter, i. 8
Petrinelli, i. 327, 354
Pezza, *see* Fra Diavolo
Philip II., i. 31
Piacenza, i. 288, 289, 294, 298, 300-302, 311, 314-318, 354
Piale, i. 241
Picoletti, ii. 85
Piedmont, i. 310, 321, 331
Pignatelli, Com., i. 214, 249
Pignatelli-Cerchiara, i. 327
Pignatelli-Strongoli, i. 273, 295, 304, 327, 354, 355, 359-361, 363, 364, 366, 368, 371, 373, 374; ii. 131
Pigot, i. 55
Pimentel, i. 43
Pinckney, i. 219
Pino, i. 272, 273
Pisticci, i. 98
Pius VII., i. 149, 225, 315-317, 338 339; ii. 45, 46
Pizzo, i. 398, 406
Pizzofalcone, i. 33, 383

Po, i. 288, 290, 299, 354, 357
Poerio, i. 228; ii. 100, 105, 106, 135
Poggiardo, i. 30
Poland, i. 331, 338
Policastro, i. 137, 141, 142
Polignac, i. 340
Polistena, i. 326
Pompeii, i. 157
Ponza, i. 136, 164, 178, 213
Porta Capuana, i. 34
Portugal, i. 183
Posen, i. 258
Posilipo, i. 330, 383; ii. 128
Potenza, i. 251; ii. 77, 94
Pozzo di Borgo, ii. 73, 74
Pozzuoli, i. 211, 383
Prague, treaty, i. 329, 338
Pratzen, i. 70
Priapus, i. 10
Procida, i. 112, 384
Puglia, i. 4, 5, 13, 17, 35, 55, 56, 62, 88, 97, 153, 173, 237; ii. 58-61
Pugliese, i. 3
Pulcinella, i. 11, 12; ii. 137

Quadrilateral, i. 70, 288, 289

Ramsay, ii. 28
Ranier, Archduke, ii. 111
Raphael, i. 9, 16
Ravenna, i. 273, 285, 286
Rayneval, de, ii. 116
Reggio di Calabria, i. 88, 91, 92, 102, 118, 121, 128, 171, 172, 240-242
Reggio di Emilia, i. 299, 301-303, 307, 316, 358
Regnier, i. 88-91, 95, 118-131, 137, 139, 143, 171-173, 199
Riccardo, i. 31
Ricciardi, i. 152, 160; ii. 11, 85, 93, 104
Richardson, i. 112, 113, 132
Riego, ii. 78
Rieti, ii. 132, 133
Rimini, i. 356, 379
Ritis, *see* De Ritis
Robinson, i. 404
Roccaromana, i. 270, 336, 383, 388; ii. 131
Rochefort, i. 173
Rodio, i. 77, 97-100
Roederer, i. 100, 150-155, 160, 185
Romagna, i. 316, 354, 360, 361
Romans, i. 6
Rome, i. 4, 285, 355, 356, 363, 365
  King of, i. 244
Ronca, i. 136
Ronco, i. 366, 367
Rosa, i. 9
  see De Rosa
Rosaroll, ii. 99
Rosenheim, i. 88, 89, 91
Rosenkreutz, ii. 26
Rossetti, Gabriele, i. 16, 324; ii. 96, 130, 131, 136
  General, i. 354
Rousseau, i. 39; ii. 15
Rovere, i. 314
Rufando, i. 17
Ruffo, Cardinal Fabrizio, i. 40, 50, 74, 83
  Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, i. 44, 45, 149
  Comm., ii. 3, 4, 110
Ruggiero, i. 18, 22
Russia, i. 54, 59, 61

Sacca, i. 299
Salerno, i. 397; ii. 77-79, 83, 94
Saliceti, i. 98-100, 105, 150, 162-168, 177-179, 185, 189, 199, 211, 224-226, 272; ii. 31
Salonika, i. 57
Samnites, i. 4
Sand, ii. 74
Sanfelice, i. 50, 51
Sangro, ii. 124
San Lazaro, i. 317
Santa Lucia, i. 33
Sant' Ambrogio, i. 357
Saracens, i. 4
Saxony, i. 331, 338, 341
Scaletta, i. 242
Scanderbeg, i. 4
Schiarino-Rizzeno, i. 319
Schinina, i. 276, 277
Schoenbrunn, i. 77
Schwarzenberg, i. 268, 296, 360
Sciablone, i. 145
Sciarpa, i. 77, 89, 97
Scigliano, i. 96
Scilla, i. 28, 52, 118, 128, 140, 171, 172, 210, 239, 241
S. Donino, i. 317, 327
Sebastiani, i. 56
Ségur, i. 94, 99, 101
Serra, i. 251, 252
Serracapriola, ii. 3, 110, 112
Sessa, ii. 72
S. Eufemia, i. 121, 122, 142, 398
Severoli, i. 301-303
S. Germano, i. 28, 380; ii. 134
Sicily, i. 52, 62, 75, 80, 87, 88, 153, 184, 231, 232, 305
Sicilians, i. 6

Sila, i. 3, 92, 250
Silvati, ii. 79, 80, 89, 135
Sinigaglia, i. 368
Sligo, Lord, i. 345
S. Martino, i. 230
Smith, Sidney, i. 110, 112-114, 117, 118, 120, 132, 135-137
Smolensk, i. 257
Sommariva, i. 353
Sophocles, i. 11
Sora, i. 145
Soult, i. 70
Soveria, i. 95, 129
Spaccapitta, i. 140
Spain, i. 183
Spartacus, i. 121
Sperlunga, i. 144
Speziale, i. 50
Spilimberto, i. 365
S. Sepolcro, i. 363, 364
S. Severino, ii. 83
Stackelberg, ii. 126
Staël, Mme. de, ii. 73
Stahrenberg, i. 294
St. Clair, i. 169; ii. 52
St. Cyr, i. 61, 64, 67, 68, 88, 97
St. Dizier, i. 289
St. Elie, i. 337, 345
St. Elmo, i. 105
S. Teodoro, i. 83, 84, 311; ii. 49
Stewart, i. 395; ii. 113, 115, 116
Stilo, i. 250
Stratti, 403-405
Strongoli, i. 129
see Pignatelli
Stuart, i. 119-129, 140, 169, 209, 211, 212, 240; ii. 31
Suchet, ii. 116
Suvaroff, i. 40
Swabians, i. 4
Sybaris, i. 5, 20
Syracuse, i. 62, 276

Taccone, i. 250, 251
Talleyrand, i. 64, 66, 67, 184, 205, 206, 332-345; ii. 29, 53
Taranto, i. 56-59, 62, 80, 131, 173, 174, 237; ii. 61
Taro, i. 289, 314, 315, 317
Tatitscheff, i. 63, 64, 62, 74
Teano, i. 384
Teramo, i. 325
Terracina, i. 144
Thiébault, i. 34, 194
Tilsit, i. 58, 168, 170, 172, 181
Toledo, i. 17, 33
Tolentino, i. 368-374, 380, 381
treaty, i. 322
Tommasi, ii. 52
Toulon, i. 54, 173, 174, 388
Trafalgar, i. 69, 71, 80, 116, 117
Trentacapilli, i. 400-402
Trieste, i. 395
Troise, ii. 121
Troja, ii. 96, 97, 105
Tronto, i. 374
Troppau, ii. 112-115
Tufara, i. 29
Turin, i. 335
Turkey, i. 53, 54, 56, 183, 184
Tuscany, i. 309, 311, 212, 314

Ugolino, i. 22
Ulm, i. 69
Uovo, *see* Castel del
Urbino, i. 355

Valeggio, i. 290, 298
Valentin, i. 134
Vallongue, i. 114
Vardarelli, ii. 59
Vatican, i. 8
Vatout, ii. 114
Vattel, ii. 114
Venafro, i. 375
Venice, i. 183, 286
Verdier, i. 130, 137, 142-144
Verona, i. 288, 289, 309
Verrières, i. 392 *note*
Vescovado, i. 389, 392, 395
Vestals, i. 8
Vesuvius, i. 2, 383
Vicenza, i. 288
Vico, i. 16, 25
Victor Emmanuel I., i. 321, 342
II., i. 15
Vienna, i. 69, 332, 346
Villa Tranfo, i. 167
Villeneuve, Admiral, i. 64, 117
see Millet de
Viscardis, i. 178, 179
Volta, i. 301
Vomero, i. 330, 331, 343

Wagram, i. 212, 228
Walewska, i. 343
Walker, i. 346
Walmoden, ii. 133
Waterloo, i. 387, 394
Weisshaupt, ii. 30
Wellesley, *see* Wellington
Wellington, i. 196, 237, 264, 335, 336, 394
Wesel, i. 202
Whitworth, i. 55, 56
Wilna, i. 257
Wilson, i. 311-314
Winspeare, i. 160, 222; ii. 11, 85

Yarmouth, Lord, i. 184

Zante, i. 213
Zichy, ii. 113
Zimmerman, ii. 123
Zuccari, i. 338; ii. 46
Zucchi, i. 290, 310, 328
Zurlo, i. 16, 27, 160, 221-223, 227, 228, 244, 249; ii. 11, 50, 85, 92, 93, 97, 120, 121, 124

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